/140 cont./

301 Earrings of Molentza chain; necklaces of glass beads. Rings on arms, wrists, and legs as among the men.

[756] The "Bushman doctor" wears special ornaments that other people are not permitted to wear. Unfortunately, I was not able to obtain any of these ornaments.

[882] Girls, it is said, do not start wearing ornaments until after their first menses.

[796] All the ornaments are worn for dances and ceremonies. The headdress of the women in Photograph 20 is worn only on special festive occasions.

302 [756] [301] The "doctor" has his head shaved smooth. I did not notice a special hairdress. The men frequently stick individual loose ostrich feathers in the hair, while the women like to braid brass or iron beads into the hair. In addition, the women use a kind of pomade made of various pulverized plant parts which are combined with fat from antelope skin.

Men sometimes cut their head-hair with a knife or a piece of glass.

There is no differentiation in hair style between girls and married women.

[386] The hair is frequently dyed with a mixture of fat and red clay. I am uncertain, however, whether or not this is a means of making the hair fall out in places. On the other hand, in that case there would probably have to be another ingredient /141/ in this mixture that I was unable to discover.

In case a beard is present, which does not occur often, it is neither cut nor removed in any other way.

[142] Pubic hair is sparse and is sometimes shaved off (with a piece of glass). It is said that women have no pubic hair at all.

E. Artificial Deformities

A kind of cosmetic of a reddish-brown color is used by the women.

It consists of a mixture of fat and red clay (see Section D above) and is manufactured by the women themselves.

[535] This cosmetic is regarded solely as a means of beautification and is used especially at festivals (dances).

/150 cont./

525 are placed between the players and taken by the winner, but since the luck often changes during a match, the same prize passes back and forth frequently.

I have seen this game played only by two men (not by women and children). One finds especially passionate players
524 among the Auin, in particular among older men.

535 Dancing game of the women (goei) (see Photos. 36 and 37).

I am in doubt as to whether I should classify this under games or dances.

A number of women line up along a tree trunk lying on the ground. All of them in rhythm alternately place the front part of first the right and then the left foot on the trunk. It proceeds in this fashion, slowly at first, then ever faster. If the women have their backs turned to the tree trunk, they place their heels on it in the same fashion.

Sometimes also two rows of women will face each other.
[533] Frequently, a kind of rhythmical singsong is also uttered by them.

The game is begun with everyone calling out //ai, meaning something like "let's go."

In some dances bucks' horns are tied in front of the forehead (eland bull dance). One can hardly designate these as true masked dances, however.

The Auin are acquainted with stilts, which are used by men
481 and boys. I might mention that I did not see any, but when I described them the Auin seemed to be very familiar with them.

526 Foot races (gâ).

The runners line up in a row, and at the word "gâ" they all run. The winner obtains a prize of food or of some useful object (for example, a knife).

Older people act as judges. Bloody quarrels are said to occur
[578] when the prizes are awarded.

Stick throwing (gai or albi).

Thin sticks of any length up to two meters and taken from the rosinkis bush are thrown forward with a whistling swing and from a running start (they are not flung like a spear, but grasped at one end). The object is to throw as far as possible. No prizes are offered; hence it is a real sport. Since it is fairly strenuous, this game, like all the others, incidentally, is played only when

/151 cont./

533 music than others. I have observed a man who played his musical bow in every spare moment.

Rhythmic hand clapping accompanies singing.

534 237 Dance rattles (guri) are made of the cocoons of a night butterfly. These cocoons are strung on strings and dried. While the cocoons are still soft, little stones or pieces of ostrich egg shell are pressed into the inner cavity and the soft envelope is closed over them (see Photo. 39).

The rattles, when they are dried and hard, are strung and 535 fastened to the ankle. They are supposed to be used at all dances.

War dance (see Photos. 41 and 42).

The women sit or stand, clapping their hands and singing, while the men crouch or stand opposite them. One man slides out of the row on his knees toward the row of women and makes war-like gestures, as though he were evading an arrow, flinging a spear, etc.

One of the women thrusts out an arm and utters a brief, deep cry, thereby indicating that a spear has been thrown or an arrow shot. The man pretends he is wounded and screams. If he is "dead," he crawls back, and a new solo dancer takes his place. Women, too, are sometimes "dead" or "wounded."

Indecisive battles are indicated.

Here, too, there are very passionate dancers, both male and female, as well as those who have a special talent for mimicry.

The porcupine dance (see Photo. 40) is performed only by men. A number of men stand facing one another, stamp the ground rhythmically, and utter loud shouts. One of them is the "porcupine," which is beaten to death by another man or stabbed with a spear. Everything is indicated by motions.

Eland bull dance. I was unable to learn the nature of this dance, but apparently the rutting lust of the eland is imitated.

M. Means of Transportation

487 Bush paths are formed by the Bushmen on the main lines of traffic, for instance, from the settlement to water. When a 648 Bushman uses the pad (that is, the road of the Whites), he has an

/157 cont./

841 The water and food collected by menstruating women are consumed only by the women themselves and old people; the younger ones "it makes weak."

593 858 The authority of the parents practically ceases as soon as the children are in a position to provide food for themselves.

A child is named soon after birth by the grandfather or grand-
553 mother (whether on the paternal or the maternal side was not determined).

Boys reach puberty between 14 and 16 years of age and girls
145 between 13 and 15 years of age (estimates).

881 The declaration of a boy's maturity is a special event in the life of the Bushman. Under the leadership of the "doctor," several youths from neighboring settlements march into the bush and live together there for some weeks on the veld crop. During this time they receive some sort of instruction in secret affairs. Young and old Auin alike, whom I interrogated separately, denied that this instruction pertains to sexual matters. To the question of what they did during their stay in the bush, I always received the answer: "They dance." They did, indeed, describe for me a kind of dance which decidedly has something childishly mysteri-
• [535] ous about it. A boy seats himself "piggyback" on the back of another, and both wrap themselves in a large hide mantle. The dance consists of the carrier tramping with his feet as rapidly as possible without moving forward, while both of them utter a low "hu, hu" in as horrifying a manner as possible.

It is indeed difficult to imagine that this interesting occupation should last for weeks, interrupted only by sleeping and eating.

In addition, the young people seem to be treated quite badly in the course of this preparation and to receive little to eat; all of them concurred in the opinion that it is "miserable."

I learned through hints that the candidates for manhood play all kinds of tricks on neighboring villages during the night and play as "ghosts" a bit, as well as stealing food.

[884] The actual attainment of manhood, after which the boys are warriors and are allowed to marry, is not solely dependent on attending the preparation, but also on the killing of the first piece of big game.

Tattooing is not connected with the official attainment of
[304] manhood

/157 cont./

881 manhood. In the case of girls no special preparation occurs. As soon as a girl has her first menstrual period, people from neighboring and friendly settlements assemble for a great celebration. The girl lies prone on the ground while old women form the orchestra near her, singing and clapping their hands. The younger [535] women stamp /158/ along in goose step, their buttocks exposed. Individual men from time to time enter the circle and all of them imitate the movements and sounds of rutting animals. I believe that this is the eland bull dance. A girl may marry [582] only after the onset of the first menses.

S. Birth and Death

The birth takes place in the open air outside the settlement. 844 The woman sits on the ground with the upper part of her body propped up and her knees drawn up.

Reviving apparently stillborn children by rubbing their limbs [845] and bodies is practiced.

Old women assist at the birth. In difficult cases, for instance, when the woman is ill at the time of the birth, the "doctor" is called in.

The doctor, among other means that he employs, is supposed to relieve a difficult birth by performing a kind of sucking with his mouth at the vagina.

When he assists at a birth, the doctor murmurs magical formulas.

The umbilical cord is severed with the sharp edge of a reed splinter, never with any other object. Practical reasons for this could not be given: "It has always been so."

The man slings his bowstring around the body of the woman in labor. Then he goes away and during the birth stays in his hut.

I was unable to determine any symbolic significance in the use of the bowstring. The explanation was: "The birth is easier."

The woman who has given birth is spared as long as a month [846] after delivery and does not need to work.

The newborn child is wiped off with the nest of the weaver bird (?). In no case is water used.

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Auen

Photo. 35.
Riding.

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Photo. 37.
Dancing Game of the Women.

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Photo. 39.
Dance
Rattles.

2: Kaufmann--73 G-5 (1908) 1910 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Auen

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Photo. 36.
Dancing Game of the Women [see Photo. 37].

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Photo. 38.
Musical Bows.

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Photo. 40.
Porcupine Dance.

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Photo. 41.
War Dance.

Photo. 42.
War Dance.

WESTERN OTJIMPOLO VELD

DAMA

[9 cont.]

805 shauba, cold season (N. sáob).

!kn-aba, hot season (N. !nái, warm).

535 Among dances, an ostrich and an ape dance were mentioned to me.

123 The studies, which began so promisingly, came to an end because I was evidently unable to present the village chief with enough presents. One evening a boy appeared and told me that the Bushmen had "had to go hunting." I continued to wait a number of days for the !Kung called by Mr. Eaddes. The messengers returned with the news that they had found no one. Another Sunday coat for the village mayor and some yellow money for the Bushmen, and priceless material could have been obtained.

[107

Chapter 3

The Dama Bushmen from the Palm Bush East of the Ondonga [Ndonga]

173 According to their tradition, these Bushmen came from Herero country. Hence they represent the connecting link between the "Saan" in the Gobabis district and the Hei//om [Heikum] of the north. The people as a whole designate themselves as Daman = the wealthy. The horde around Oshigambo calls itself //Huru-Khái. They call their dialect Cháraba. I do not believe that they live far in the interior of the Otjimpolo Veld. They have an enormous respect for the !Kung. The outermost cattle posts of the Ondonga probably coincide pretty much with the boundaries of their territory. A number of them are Bantuized and have small physiques. The others engage in hunting and supply the black farmers with the flesh of wild game, hides, ostrich egg beads, and poison. They serve as beaters on the great hunts of Chief Martin. At the court they count for nothing. The farmers like to see them. Little acts of assistance, a sack of berries or veldkost, soften the heart of the black housewife, so that here, as in Uukualuthi [among the Kualuthi?], there are a number of do-nothings who are nonetheless gladly received.

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appropriated a number of little trees and planted them in front of his house. On one occasion when he was in town with his Bushmen, the original owner of the trees declared that in the afternoon he was going to see about it. The Bushmen heard this and disappeared. When the two Whites came to the farm, the little trees had disappeared. The Bushmen had run ahead and had hurriedly removed them on their own initiative.

181 The Bushmen are at all times courageous and steadfast people, characteristics which, indeed, their very way of life would produce.

831 The Bushmen strictly avoid talking about sexual matters
[864] in the presence of women and children. Just as in general they are a people without imagination, they do not have any form of the more subtle erotic phantasies.

The endless obscene stories that one hears from the Blacks as soon as he has gained their confidence are unknown among the Bushmen.

The sexual element is absent in their religious cele-
[535] brations, but it finds expression in many of their dances, which imitate the love play of animals.

834 On the whole, their sense of modesty cannot be denied, even though, naturally, they do not have such decent forms of conduct as the genteel Bantu, among whom it is regarded as extremely improper to look at the breasts of the women. The
[516] girls and women never sit in the typical squatting position, but rather sit on the ground with the legs crossed.

[576] Although the life of the Bushmen within the encampment is openly in view, those principles that we regard as natural tact are nonetheless observed.

[514] The Bushman performs his necessities at all times out of sight of the others, and love scenes are never enacted in public.

114 It is naturally very difficult to learn anything more
127 precise concerning the more intimate details of sexual life

[28 cont.]

224 a gemsbok) until it is tired and then drives it to the vicinity of
584 the hut of his intended. The pursuit of such a large antelope is not as difficult as it looks, for these ruminants are seized with serious cramps if they are not given time to settle down to ruminate. In other words, the pursuit of such a large antelope simply involves continually disturbing the animal for a long period of time. Then the young man calls to the people and asks them for weapons. All of them leap up, and the girl, too, stands up and watches as her people run with the spears. The hunter kills the game before her eyes. Then they bring the meat and cook it, and the girl says: "That is a courageous hunter; I want to marry
584 him." It is not unusual, however, for a young man to marry far away from his relatives, without having asked for the consent of his parents. In that case, the young woman must stay with her parents while the husband returns home and reports the marriage to his parents. The latter say: "How can you do this, when we don't know whether it will turn out all right?" The husband, however, says: "I have already done it, and I am merely telling you." Thereupon the parents answer: "Well, it's all right."
[591] Then the husband returns to his young wife, or to her kin group and brings his wife and child to his own kin group, where they are received. According to Vedder (Tsumeb), the young man sends a messenger with a piece of game to the father of the girl of his choice. If the father accepts the game, the betrothal is regarded
583 as concluded. As soon as the youth moves to the encampment of
591 his father-in-law, the marriage is regarded as concluded. He
[585] must work for a year for his father-in-law and deliver all hunting spoils to him, but he may not enter the hut of his parents-in-law. Once the first child is born, he moves with wife and child to his kin group.

585 Von Zastrow and Vedder (2) report on the conclusion of a
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2. Von Zastrow and Vedder, "Die Buschmänner," p. 417, in Schultze-Ewarth, Das Eingeborenenrecht, Vol. II.

marriage:

"There is much dancing. The animal dances have a pervasive erotic element. In one of the first dances the bridegroom

[28 cont.]
535 makes his appearance as the bull of some animal species that the
585 two kin groups especially prize. He takes his place in the row of dancing men. Across from them the women have taken up their position in a long row and accompany the dance by stamping, singing, and clapping their hands. The bride stands among them. She is in no way distinguished from the other women and girls. After a few turns, the bridegroom steps out of the row of men, goes dancing toward the bride, seizes her, and dances back again. The bride then comes from the row of women, clapping her hands, stamping, and singing as she moves toward the bridegroom; without touching him, she turns back, keeping her face turned toward the bridegroom, and rejoins the row of female dancers. With this, the external formality of concluding the marriage in front of many witnesses is over.

583 "It is the young man's duty, however, to leave his paternal
591 kin group for a year and to work for his parents-in-law. This means that any spoils he gets from hunting must be left in his mother-in-law's hut. He, of course, gets his piece during the distribution of the meat, but he is not yet regarded as the actual provider for his young wife, who, as before, receives her share of the meat from her mother, although she searches for veldkost for herself and her husband.

[224] "As a hunter, the man eats only the flesh of the rump.
262 The women and children receive the legs and intestines. Children are not allowed to eat certain parts; for example, a child may
[825] not eat the heart of a jackal. The child would not become sick
[828] by doing so, but since the jackal is very cowardly, the child would also become cowardly.

591 [29] "After the first year of marriage with its obligatory service, the young wife follows her husband to the encampment where the man's father or his kin group resides.

845 "If the child is so weak that it probably will not live,
847 or if it has a physical defect, it is buried alive on the same day, with or without the consent of the father and mother.

553 "The name of the child is given by the father. This is
852 done a few days after birth. The father spits on the child's chest and calls it by name. Others sprinkle it with water from a well.

[49 cont.]

755 chief spirit was not yet satisfied, she would appease him; the chief
756 spirit would voluntarily take the little spirits of sickness away, even
796 from the doctors. After these words the festival abruptly ended;
the people went to their fires and lay down to sleep.

The candidate had passed his examination (1).

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1. Burchell (in the translation by Hellwald, Völkerkunde [Ethnology], II, p. 519) has given a similar account from the south: "One foot remains stationary, while the other is in rapid and irregular motion without any definite change of position. The movement of the arms is so slight as to be negligible. At the same time the dancer sings without pause and keeps time with the movements. Occasionally he lowers his body and then suddenly raises it again, until finally he sinks to the ground exhausted, but still singing and rhythmically moving his body in time with the song of the spectators. Even though only one person dances at a time, the company present nonetheless also has something to do, etc."

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When the excitement of the dance has reached its climax and the dancers have fallen into a kind of trance as a result of the continuous dance movement, the shrill singing, the drinking of coffee, and not least the tobacco smoke, which they keep in their mouths for minutes on end for the intoxicating effect, then the doctors, in order to demonstrate their resistance to fire, trample with bare feet on the red-hot embers taken from the campfire and spread out on the sand. In the case of a number of the younger ones, however, I believe that their resistance to fire was not quite as great as they would have one believe, and they carefully avoided the pieces that were

[59 cont.]

19. Dance Songs

I was able to take down a few dances:

1. Dance Song for the Wedding

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539 ee ga ee /nuia khe e /goaro be We are singing of the child. (Repeat.)

2. Pantomimic Eland Dance

χ'ai /nui !gaa u da !gaa Runner with arrow poison in his body
ts-ii !gowara //goe Do you run with a heavy head.

The elephant dance, curiosly enough, is sung with the refrain: "The Ovambo girl goes around between the men."

524 The !Kung also have a war game. Two parties stand facing each other some distance apart and shoot bird arrows at each other. The Bushmen are very skillful in evading these arrows.

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769 Farmer Friedrich near Duwib reported the following to me concerning the Hei//om near Tsintsabis: When the village elder dies, his successor makes an incision on his forehead between the eyebrows and squirts the blood toward the east; then he cuts his little finger and sprays the blood toward the west. This is done so that the dead chief in the beyond will see to it that those remaining behind will always have veldkost.

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681 At the girls' initiation the spirits of the east and west are implored in song to let the young woman always find veldkost.

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684 "If after a hunting expedition of several days the husband suspects that his wife has been unfaithful to him, he can clear up the situation by means of an 'ordeal.' He takes a resinous root that burns like a candle with a bright flame, in the evening places it in the entrance of his, that is, his wife's hut, and observes the direction in which the long flame points. If the flame points into the interior of the house, adultery occurred during his absence. If it points outside, his wife is innocent."

[62 cont.]

293 Like the prehistoric Bushmen, these people, too, wear forehead bands, into which the arrows are stuck during the hunt.

726 Dornan (p. 139) reports that the Kalahari Bushmen hold
754 dances before the start of a war, and on these occasions they shoot little poisoned arrows from equally small bows in the direction of the enemy or of the sun. They believe that in so doing they are killing the shadow spirit of the enemy. They do not like to give these miniature bows and arrows to anyone because they are afraid that they might come into the possession of their enemies and thus bring about their own deaths.

226 Fishing is still quite well developed among the Masarwa people. Stone walls are sometimes built in the river, in which weir-baskets are set, or they sit in the river bed next to one another with weir-baskets, while women and children drive the fish toward them. In smaller waterholes, grass and brush are piled up on one side. Then the Bushmen step into the water and push the grass wall ahead of them, thus driving the fish into a corner. Individual fish are also speared with the assagai. According to Hodson, the best fishermen are the Bakoba Bushmen on the Okovanggo. They have harpoons and rush nets that are drawn diagonally across the river.

278 G. A. Farini (3) had an opportunity to observe the

[113] 3. G. A. Farini, Durch die Kalahariwüste [Through the Kalahari Desert], Leipzig, 1886.

manufacture of arrow poison in the Chanse Veld. The men gathered at a certain place; women were not allowed to be present. The sap was removed from about 30 to 40 poisonous bulbs by means
● [535] of successive incisions and was collected in a pan. As each incision was made, the Bushmen danced in a circle, making a kind of grunt. Then a hyena hide was spread out with the hair side down, and on it was spread the contents of the bags that contained the dried heads of poisonous snakes, as well as two pieces of reed approximately 15 centimeters long. Then a number of freshly killed poisonous snakes were brought. The poison sacs were removed amidst singing and the clapping of hands. Meanwhile the pan containing the poison had been put on the fire and was boiling;

[62 cont.]

278 one person after another stepped up to the pan and threw his share of snake poison into it. Then the pan was removed from the fire.
[535] The Bushmen now performed a new dance, in which they imitated the convulsions of animals dying from the poison. After another half hour the poison was clear, and when everyone had convinced himself that it was the right color, a red mineral powder was added and thoroughly stirred into it. Then poisonous spiders were taken out of the reeds and thrown into the [63] pan. These came from the Langen Mountain in the Cape Colony, in other words, had been brought from afar. When the mass had thickened somewhat more, the arrows were smeared with it and dried in the shade (ibid., p. 380).

595 These Bushmen, the M'Kabba, are monogamists.

563 Farini maintains (ibid., p. 171) that he met a black Pygmy who came from the tribe of the Kara-Kara north of Amboland (1).

1. At the mission station Urikualuthi I was told by the missionary, Mrs. Quarni, who has made most meritorious contributions to investigations of the country, that shortly before the war a number of black Pygmies who lived in the swamps along the Kunene had come to Chief Moala. She saw these people.

252 Concerning the food of the Bushmen, Dornan has the following to report: The Marsawa [sic] eat meat either roasted or grilled, rarely boiled, because they believe that the latter will
251 make them sick. The Bushmen of Basutoland cut the meat into tiny pieces, mixed it with fat, and then sewed it into hide sacks as preserved meat. As reserves in case of famine, the Kalahari Bushmen keep giraffe skins on tall trees. Veldkost is stored in turtle shells and ostrich eggs, as is water. The Basutoland Bushmen gathered grass seeds and stored them for times of hunger.

252 The tsama are prepared in the following manner: A hole is dug, and a fire is made in it. As soon as the soil is sufficiently

[63 cont.]

252 hot, the ashes and fire are taken out, the melons are placed in the hot soil, and the glowing ashes are thrown on them. The next morning the tsama are ready.

301 The largest ostrich egg beads are produced by the Masarwa.

532 Their dance masks are made with pods and cocoons, and
535 sometimes also small hide balls filled with little rattle stones.
323 They still know the art of pottery. White or red body painting is
302 customary.

304 A Bushman tribe at Ngami Lake is supposed to have the custom of removing the last joint of the little finger.

278 Dornan mentions the following medicines of the Masarwa: for black water fever, Anacampseros rhodesica; dysentery, Monsonia ovata and Euclea lanceolata. Other medicines: Cannabis sativa, Solanum nigrum, Lippia asperifolia, Crotalaria burkeana, Pterocarpus angolensis, Datura stramonium, Indigifera senegalensis, Bauhinia reticulata.

752 The Masarwa claim that they can only treat the bite of the puff adder. The body of the Lygosoma sundervalli is charred, and the powder is sprinkled into the wound. Every snake is killed, and
[751] its head crushed. Reportedly there are also inoculations against snakebite.

595 According to Dornan, monogamy prevails among the
836 Masarwa. Sexual intercourse before marriage is prohibited, and
684 incest and adultery are punishable by death. As a rule, the con-
584 sent of the girl is necessary for marriage; it is generally sufficient if the suitor presents his father-in-law with a head of big game. The hunting test is customary only among the Wankie Bushmen
582 and those of Bulalima. One may marry a girl from the same clan. Among those tribes that are totemistically influenced, one may
304 not marry a person of the same totem. Circumcision is practiced.
681 As soon as the boys and girls are about 12 years old, circumcision takes place, for which a stone knife is used. In the case of the girls, the clitoris is pierced with a stone point. Sexual intercourse
[836] between the uncircumcised is strictly prohibited. Occasionally the nasal septum is pierced at the boys' initiation. As among the
761 Bantu, every death is explained as sorcery by human enemies. In
764 olden times the dead were supposedly thrown into the bush;
178 nowadays they are sometimes buried in a crouching position in

NOGAU
ǂAUIN

[69 cont.]

assistants, the boys go into the bush. On the first day two vertical incisions are made on the forehead; then they sing throughout the night and dance to the melody: "Ije, ije, aije, aije . . . oho, oho," etc.

On the morning of the second day, the incisions on the forehead are extended to the root of the nose and the hairline. On the afternoon of this day the elders call the youths together to look for veldkost. The elder loosens the roots with his digging stick, and as he does so the candidates place their hands on the arm doing the work. The boys must then dig the roots out of the ground with their hands, without the help of tools. "From now on they can look for veldkost themselves, for now they have been taught."

After this lesson they return to the place where the women are. [70] Food is prepared there for both the men and the candidates; the candidates are allowed to eat only veldkost, no meat. Then they dance, together with the women and girls, for a night and half a day.

In the afternoon the candidates go hunting. They must bag three animals: a small duiker, a guinea fowl, and a bullfrog. They take their prey and assemble with the older instructors at a remote place, the three kinds of meat are cooked together, the meat is eaten by the elders, and the bodies of the boys are washed all over with the soup. From now on they may eat the three animals, hitherto forbidden to them. Now they again dance and sing: "Oouu, oouu, oouu, oouu, oouu" (long drawn-out).

ǂAuin: The candidates from neighboring villages go into the bush under the leadership of the doctor, and they live there on veldkost for a few weeks. During this time they receive instructions in secret matters. Kaufmann reports the following dance: A boy gets up on the back of another, and both of them wrap themselves in a large hide mantle. The dance consists of the carrier swinging from one leg to the other as rapidly as possible without moving forward, and both of them yell "hu, hu." They actually attain manhood, which gives them the right to marry, only through the hunting test. Tattooing is not connected with the declaration of manhood.

NARON
≠AUIN
NOGAU

[70 cont.]

881 Among the Naron, on the other hand, they must first pass the hunting test before they are admitted to the boys' initiation. Ten or 12 candidates are taken into the bush and must live for a month on veldkost, which is sprinkled with a medicine by the doctor before it is eaten. Women are not allowed to come near the camp.

During one of the nocturnal dances, Hise appears, dances [776] around the circle, and is then driven away by the medicine man. [787] Some say Hise looks like a woman; others describe him as a be- 535 ing three feet tall, with a flat head, large eyes, black body, 881 wings and claws (one is reminded of the spirit bird Engorori, which appears at the initiation of the Ovambo, or of the Neida Gamaseb of the Bergdama).

Some old ≠Auin saw two beings, one male and one female, 787 who looked like lions but walked upright; they were followed by children who looked like baboons.

Evidently masked dances, are involved here. The younger 535 men no longer see this Hise; the doctors explain to them that he 881 came, but could only be seen by the medicine men.

A special dance for Hise is an imitation of a bird's movements. In olden times the people also danced in pairs, while they sang in refrain: "Ostrich stomach, Hise stomach, hu, hu, hu."

The /Di dance is likewise dedicated to Hise. At this dance the men wear the dance rattles described above, as is also done for profane dances, but in addition they wear white or black ostrich feathers.

3. The Girls' Initiation

Among the Nogau when a girl has her first menstruation, 881 there is a celebration. Throughout the first day the girl must stay [343] in a closed, arbor-like pontok especially constructed for her. She is only given something to drink, nothing to eat. The women gather from far and near and perform dances around this arbor. These festivities last for five days, and only one man is present as a leader of the ceremony. During these five days the girl is regarded as "poisonous" and may not touch anything, not even

NARON
≠AUIN
NOGAU

[70 cont.]

881 her food, which is given to her by an old woman. On the sixth day the girl goes looking for veldkost with an old woman, and, when she has returned, she herself makes the fire and cooks the food in the circle of her guests, for the first time officially independent. (502) Girls may marry even before this ceremony.

[71] Among the ≠Auin the initiation is held for each girl 881 at the time of the first menstruation. The same is true among the Naron. The eland bull dance is performed every night during 881 the girl's period. Two old men attach real or wooden eland 535 horns to their heads and wait in the bush. Then the menstruating girl comes and sits down or lies down surrounded by old women, in the center of a circle of younger women who stage a dance. The two eland bulls soon appear and then quickly disappear again. The dance is very indecent. Among the Nussan, men masked as birds (!) take the place of the eland bulls.

796 Once a year, in autumn when the veldkost is harvested, there is a great festival. The day is called: "//gam gna she (the great day)." On this occasion food is prepared, and the Bushmen come from all sides. They dance and sing, but they are supposed to stay at home; no one may hunt, look for veldkost, or do any kind of work. [Fig. 25 appears here.]

4. Courtship, Wedding, and Marriage

If a young Bushman wants to marry, he does not go to the girl, but instead must speak with her parents; at the same time 584 the girl's consent to the marriage is necessary. Once this consent is given, presents are exchanged between the parents of the engaged couple, or a gemsbok is shot and divided between the two families. Immediately after the presents have been exchanged, preparations for the wedding are begun. If enough game, above all, a gemsbok, is at hand, they dance through the entire night and sing: "Ueeö, ueeeö, ö, eee, gueeö, guueeö," [539] etc.

Then the young man takes his wife and moves to the horde 581 of his father. Great importance is attached to virginity before [591] marriage. "It simply does not happen among us that a girl

#BUIN
NARON
NOGNU

[73 cont.]

776 821 not die, but otherwise they are like people, except that they have black skin. When there is no rain, the Bushmen make a large [789] fire and throw into it a root, "he," and a male turtle. As soon ●[535] as it starts to rain, they dance, strike themselves on the thighs, [534] and sing: "Ehe, ehe, ehe, ije, ije, ije, ehe, ehe, ehe," etc. The sorcerers can transform themselves into lions.

The rain sorcerer lives on earth as other people do. The rainbow is the rain dog. The clouds are the rain hairs.

At the time of new moon, they say the moon is sleeping. During the night the sun runs back to the east.

Thunder and lightning are not made by the rain, but by Gauab who among these Bushmen has become a personification of evil. Lightning is called "Gauab's knife."

The dark night sky is the covering of the moon and sun. The dome of the sky is called /gna. My informants left it an open question as to whether the sun perhaps "might be the greatest," the one who has made everything. On the other hand, Khu is likewise regarded as the creator. He made heaven and earth, and he also made human beings live. Khu is not a human being; he is good, but nothing more is known about him. He does not interfere in the course of the world and of human life. To be sure, they say, "Khu is the greatest, and Gauab is the smallest," but nonetheless Gauab plays a larger role in their lives. He controls thunder and lightning, he races over the steppe as a destructive wind spout, visible to all, and he also kills people by tearing out their souls and making a little Gauab out of them. This little Gauab in turn runs about in the bush and does all kinds of evil things.

[74] There is a secret moon cult among the Naron. They 794 787 821 pray to the new moon for rain. In olden times certain stars, especially the morning star and the Southern Cross, which they call "fire shoe," are also supposed to have been invoked. The story of 773 821 the moon and the hare is told in the following way: The moon said: "People must die and arise again, just as I die and return again." But the hare contradicted her and said that people should remain dead. The moon then became angry and cut the hare's mouth with a hoe.

"The moon is an old man, and the sun a young girl, his wife. First the moon goes under the sky, and then the sun follows behind

/249 cont./

To indicate affirmation the head is thrown back and the
201 eyebrows are raised.

Otherwise, the physiognomic changes of expression are essentially like those of Europeans. Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that the Bushman's facial mobility is considerably greater than that of a European, and even quite weak emotions are expressed by lively gestures.

If I may be permitted, I should like to emphasize here a
194 peculiarity of voice among the Bushmen; among the women especially the voice seems to me abnormally high-pitched. In my opinion the speech of a Heikum woman is pitched several notes higher, on the average, than that of a Herero woman. Evidently this peculiarity is connected with the smallness of the larynx of the Heikum people.

The anthropometric figures presented above are doubtless much
141 smaller than comparable ones for the Herero, Nama, and
144 Bergdamara [Bergdama] living in the immediate vicinity of the Bushmen. Nonetheless, as regards smallness, the Heikum certainly do not approach the Pygmies of Central Africa. Whether further ethnological and ethnographic investigations will uncover kindred traits among these peoples remains to be shown by further research.
144 That the Bushmen represent an almost pure race is apparent from the fact that the skin color is the same for almost all individuals, and from the evident uniformity in the structure of the body, especially of the face. In addition, the other native tribes of Southwest Africa show a pronounced aversion to racial mixture with the despised Bushmen.

I come now to some ethnological and ethnographic observa-
• 535 tions which to me seem worthy of interest. I was especially
[171] interested in the dances of the Heikum, of which one, the //o //au, shows no similarity to any other native dance with which I have become acquainted in Southwest and East Africa.

The //o //au dance (in Kung language: //ooskĕ) is a men's dance in which a series of dueling runs by the performing dancers are represented (Figs. 5 and 6). Six men, three to a side in opposing pairs, kneel in an area about three meters square, with a free space between the two rows. In the middle of this free area there is a pile of veld food. The men kneel down, hunched very

/249 cont./

535 low, and at the same time sit on their heels. Two at a time fight out a "run," while the two other pairs are resting and watching. A run lasts for about two minutes; they change opponents in the runs in a certain order, so that each man gets to duel with each of the others.

/250/ A run goes as follows: in their hunched-over position the opponents look each other sharply in the eye as they bend far over as though looking for cover, and they do not take their eyes off each other even during the most violent movements of the arms. With the flat of their hands, the opponents now beat rhythmically and violently on the ground that has been loosened up in front of the players, a powerful blow being followed by a weaker one. At each blow the opponents utter a brief H'hm Hhe testifying to a high degree of physical and psychic tension. [Figs. 5 and 6 appear here.] The H'hm is the louder sound and is also accompanied by the stronger impact of the hands. At the same time motions of covering against the blow or thrust of the opponent are carried out. The face has an angry and at the same time wary expression, while the entire body is tensed to the utmost. After about two minutes have elapsed, one of the fighters makes a motion raising one arm and sinking down backwards, as though he had been struck or killed, while the opponent makes a gesture of triumph over the vanquished enemy.

/251/ The fighters are frequently covered with dirt, by the hands striking the loosened soil, but this does not disturb them in the tense observation of the opponent.

The point of the game is that supposedly one of the fighters has unjustly appropriated food which the other tries to take away from him in the duel. Even old men feeble with age play with great passion and exert all their strength. From time to time the women give water to the exhausted opponents to fortify them.

To be sure, the entire procedure reminds one of dogs or monkeys, furiously facing each other and growling, who are crouched to spring at each other and at the same time hop around in one spot on their front legs. Nonetheless, there is something attractive about it, in spite of the animal gestures and sounds, by virtue of its vivacity and of the emotions expressed by the faces.

533 [535] Whereas the //o //au has no musical accompaniment, the other dances of the Heikum people are accompanied by a women's song.

/251 cont./

533 song. The melodies that I had an opportunity to observe were simple tone sequences which I vainly tried to arrange into a definite major or minor key such as is familiar to us. According to European concepts, the intervals are not pure. A common tonal sequence was the following, but in giving it I must

[535]

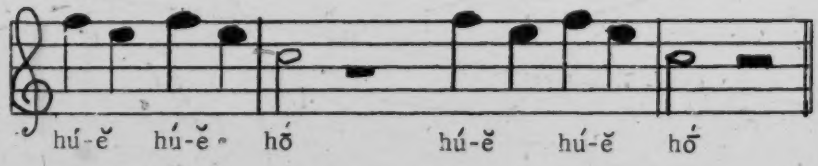
Fig. 5.

[535]

Fig. 6.

once more definitely stress that the intervals do not correspond precisely to those of our major key.

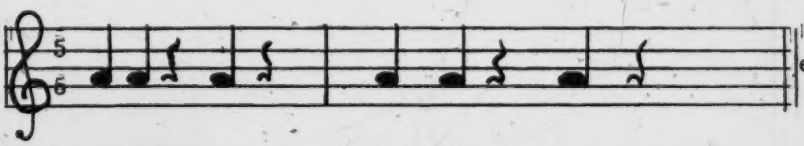
[539]



/251 cont./

533 Between the syllables hu and e a slight tremulo occurs, so that the entire song is reminiscent of yodeling. Instead of the sequence f-e-f-e-c, other tonal sequences were frequently sung, for instance, g-f-g-f-c or g-e-g-e-c. Even more complicated tonal sequences, reminiscent of our seventh chords, were not uncommon.

Singing is always accompanied by handclapping. The rhythm of the clapping is very curious; at any rate, it does not correspond to the feeling for musical rhythm that is familiar to Europeans. Two rhythms in particular have stayed in my memory, and I shall try to characterize them. The reader should think of a rhythm which, at least to my knowledge, does not exist in Aryan music, namely a 5/5 beat. Of the five fifths of this beat, they clap on the first, second, and fourth, while there are pauses on the third and fifth. The beat, in other words, would look as follows, if I designate the clapping sounds with ♩ and the pauses with 𝄽 :



Another clapping rhythm is the following, in which the three-quarter beat alternates with the two-quarter: /252/

535 Such a dance with musical accompaniment is the following, which I should like to designate as the pumpkin dance and which is reminiscent of a ball game frequently played by children in Germany. A number of women march at a rapid pace in goose step on a circular line, at the same time clapping rhythmically with their hands and singing. Among the Heikum the clapping is done [171] with the fingers spread apart, in contrast to the Herero, who clap with their fingers together. At the same time, a pumpkin [melon?] approximately the size of a child's head is thrown from one of the dancers to the other, and always backwards from the person in front to the person just behind her.

/252 cont./

The men standing around now attempt to catch the pumpkin
535 as it flies through the air, and the women simulate great indignation when one of the men succeeds in doing so. This man then cuts up the pumpkin with a knife so that a new ball is required in order to continue the game.

Another dance, in which principally men participate, could be designated as the bird dance. The men dance in a circle, while the women stand around the circle, clap their hands, and
[534] sing. The men wear dance bangles around their ankles, which are circlets of dried bean pods whose kernels rattle at every step and in this way strongly accentuate the dance rhythm. The steps of the dance are short, scarcely half a foot long, so that the progress of the dancers in the circle is quite slow. The vigor of the stepping or stamping on the ground alternates rhythmically. At the same time a number of symbolic gestures is performed. The most respected of the dancers has tied to his forehead a large eagle's beak decorated with glass and iron beads; he frequently makes a motion of hacking with the beak, and then, by slowly raising his arms, suggests the eagle's calm gliding in the air. Another dancer carries a bird's nest in his hand during the entire dance. At a certain stage, the dancers go through the motion of picking up fruit from the ground by bending down and making scooping motions in the air just above the ground. Shortly thereafter, some men dance towards the women and perform gestures as though they wanted to seize one of the women surrounding them.

535 Suddenly one of the dancers seems about to faint. A spectator
786 whom I questioned concerning the significance of this action told me that the Mukuru (Herero term for God) was in him. Other dancers, maintaining their dance step all the while, stand around the possessed person, try to help him, and cool him with fanning until he suddenly collapses with a piercing shriek. The bystanders catch him and carry him off to one side while the others go on dancing. The "doctor" now concerns himself with the unconscious
[755] person; he blows twice in each ear and once on his forehead. Visibly, consciousness now returns and soon the one possessed is able to rise and dance again.

533 /253/ The musical accompaniment is supplied solely by the women; however, the dancing men are not entirely silent. Every

/253 cont./

533 once in a while, one of the dancers emits a loud yell, usually in a high falsetto, and sometimes a trill which likewise is pitched as high as possible, depending entirely on the individual's emotional state.

The clapping at a dance is audible over a great distance. One evening when I approached the station, I could hear the clapping of the dancing women at a distance of three kilometers.

The dances I have described seem to be widely distributed
● 535 among the Bushmen. At any rate, I found all three of them with
184 only slight variations among the Kung people residing in the Kaukau Veld.

Concerning the diet of the Heikum Bushmen I was able to dis-
262 cover the following. I should add my regret at this point that I lacked the necessary background for giving the botanical names of the veld crops.

The diet is predominantly vegetable; however, the Bushman is by no means a despiser of flesh. On the contrary, whenever he can have animal food, he will utilize it for his kitchen. In so doing, he is so unselective that one could say he eats everything he can lay his hands on. I have even seen Bushmen consume hyena flesh with great pleasure. The flesh is obtained partly by
224 hunting with bow and arrow, and partly with game traps. I shall discuss the hunting weapons later; here I only want to mention a game snare which I had the opportunity to observe in the Kaukau Veld. A snare twisted from plant bast had been placed on a game trail, drawn upwards by means of a flexible stalk stuck into the ground, and fastened to the ground by means of wooden hooks. When the game touches the snare, releasing it from the hooks, the flexible stalk pulls the snare up and shut. Game is also caught in traps. I was shown an iron hook fastened to a bamboo stick about five meters long, which was used to pull out game that had fallen into the pits.

The animals of the Bushman's hunting domain include all kinds of antelopes, from the giant eland to the tiny duiker, giraffes, hogs, hares, and, in the way of birds, predominantly guinea fowl.

The Bushman, however, finds objects to enrich his cuisine even among lower animals. In the realm of the amphibians he prefers

623 about it to others, unless it were a hunter caught in a storm alone in the veld; but
821 an individual, even without necessarily expressing a consensus, we think might say
789 to another, 'Why don't you burn some of your hair?', which would probably be enough to instigate the act. And, in all likelihood, it would be done with so little formality that the observer would not know anything was happening unless he knew what to watch for and were alerted.

[171 There was no ceremony regularly performed by the /Kung of Nyae Nyae to ensure
[821 plentiful rain, like the Hottentots' *guri≠ab*. The Rain dance of the /Kung, which is
789 danced often, all through the year, is a medicine dance, among several others, such
● 535 as the Giraffe, Sun, Gemsbok, Honey, and Mamba dances. All these are 'strong'
796 things, the /Kung believe. The dances so named have 'strong' medicine music. They
755 are danced during the medicine men's ceremony to cure the sick and protect the people and drive away any of the *//gauasi*, the spirits of the dead, who might be lurking to bring some evil upon the people. The Rain dance has this as its purpose, not the control of weather.

One night when the Rain dance was being beautifully danced with a fine precision and vigour of clapping, singing, and stamping, which to us suggested fervour, we were watching it so intently that we had not noticed the sky. The first storm of the season had crept up behind us and suddenly burst over us like a bomb. We asked
[82] Gao if he believed the dance had brought the rain. He said that the rain was due to come. The dance had not brought it.

821 A *n/ow* animal, as well as a human, has either a good or a bad *n/ow*, but it seems
825 not to be known clearly how it gets the one or the other. Good or bad *n/ow* is not correlated with one sex or one species. One giraffe, for example, either male or female, may have the rain-bringing, another the cold-bringing kind.

It seems that long or short horns may have something to do with good or bad *n/ow*, not the long-hornedness of gemsbok as compared with the short-hornedness of giraffes, but, within the species, the comparative length of horn. But one kind of *n/ow* is not inherent in short-hornedness nor is the other kind in long-hornedness. It is not so simple as that. And informants did not know what association, if any, the short or long horns may have with ≠Toma's vague idea that the short or long legs of a child in the womb might have something to do with the child's *n/ow*.

When a hunter kills a *n/ow* animal, he either *≠gani*(s) or *//ghui*(s) it. Like the mother who *≠gani*(s) or *//ghui*(s) her child at birth, the hunter has no voluntary control over this and cannot tell which he has done unless the effect is observed in the weather. A hunter with good or bad *n/ow* may *≠gani* or *//ghui* an animal which has either good or bad *n/ow* and long or short horns. The precise nature of the interaction remains obscure, but hunters took an interest in telling about the kind of *n/ow* they thought they had, and gave instances of observing the effects of their killing various types of animals. If a man should kill a female kudu with short horns and the water should freeze that night, it would be evident that he had *//ghui*(ed) the animal. He would expect to continue to *//ghui* short-horned female kudus. However, although a man's *n/ow* remains constant throughout his life, the way it interacts with other factors may change, and after a time he may find he has begun to *≠gani* short-horned female kudus. We think the /Kung became a little tired of our finding this complicated.

One day in September the sun blazed in the clear sky. The heat beat down upon us.

881 companions saying, "I dare not speak to you." The married
[867 women visit the *ǂkham-khoidi oms* and instruct the inmates
868] in various domestic matters, *e.g.*, the way to clean and tidy their huts, to remain quiet when their husbands are cross, to prepare their husbands' food separately from their own, to pick up and beat the kudu skin on returning home in the evening so that the husband does not sleep on the previous day's dirt, etc. They further teach them to gather wood, to make the fire, to take away the ashes and so forth. At the onset of the first menstruation the girl tells her mother or, in case she has no mother, her best friend (*/hosas*), who then reports to one of the married women, not necessarily to the *gei-khois*. She is then isolated in a small round hut which is
[343] completely closed in except for a small entrance. It is known as the */kawa-omi* (hut for waiting) and is situated close to the *ǂkham-khoidi oms*. She is required to remain inside the */hawa-omi* and dare not show herself outside. No fire is made in the hut. She is fed by her mother or, in the absence of the latter, by another married woman. She is not visited by anybody except the person who feeds her. No medicine is given to her. Daily applications of */gib*, a red powder obtained by pulverising the bark of a tree, and of the roasted and powdered fat-containing seed of the *ǂerob* tree are made to her hair by the attendant. She may be given veldkos, but
[262] is not allowed to partake of meat. No man, not even the girl's father, may pass close to the */hawa-omi* or attempt to speak to her. She remains in the */hawa-omi* as long as the flow lasts. When it has ceased she informs her mother or the woman who has been attending her. The latter tells the
● 535 other married women and they all prepare to dance the
881 */hawa-ǂnab* (menstruation dance). This dance takes place during the day and men may not take part in it. They may, however, remain in the *//gãus* while it is going on or enter it when returning from the veld. The *ǂkham-khoidi* are also excluded from it. The */hawa-ǂnab* may be continued for three or four days. When the dance is about to begin an old woman, generally the *gei-khois*, holding a jackal tail duster, takes up a position some distance in front of the */hawa-omi*, and, dancing in one spot as if marking time, shouts *Ki-ri-ri-ri-ri-ri* to waken the initiate and to summon the other women. The latter then emerge from their huts and, dancing as they come along, take up position behind the */hawa-omi*. Two of them dance forward, passing one on each side of the little hut, towards its entrance and, as they reach the latter, the initiate comes out and the old woman stops shouting. After covering her whole head and face with a duiker skin kaross (*/gan-tab*), leaving only the eyes visible, each of the women takes an arm and, the other women coming into line from behind the hut, all dance towards the old woman who leads the way to the */hara-ǂgab*. Here they dance, the feet being thrown out sideways, always abreast of each other, with the old woman leading. Men are not permitted to watch the
881 dance. When the dance is about to end they return her to

old woman who assisted at the confinement. Boys take the surname of the mother and girls that of the father. Thus */Uirob Geirob /Geibeb* married a woman */Kao-tamas Gamanis /Harus* and begot two sons, namely *//Otoab ǂGonab /Garub* and *Goyob Gomob /Garub*, and one daughter *Hoaras /Geibes*. Not uncommonly, in the case of boys only, the father's surname with the suffix *mab*, meaning son of, is added to the surname. Hence the names of *//Otoab* become *//Otoab ǂGonab /Garub /Geibemab*. This practice offers a means of identifying relationship and is used for this purpose. 553

A person is as a rule called by the first name only. Nick-names are common and are given to children when quite young. They are usually directed towards some physical peculiarity, for example, *Eibarab*, the lad with the long face and *Amgoseb*, the one with the pointed lips. They are often retained throughout life. 551

The communities which have not been in contact with civilization are remarkably free from infectious, contagious and other diseases. Except during heavy rainy seasons when malaria becomes unduly prevalent the incidence of disease is very small among them. Sickness is in most instances attributed to the non-observance of customary practices on the part of the affected person, to magical influences exercised by other persons or, when unduly prevalent, to something going wrong with the perpetual fire. Treatment is administered by relatives and friends or in cases of acute or prolonged illness by an elder or doctor who is well versed in magical practice. Herbs of various descriptions are employed both internally and externally through incisions in the skin. Inunction with medicated ointments is also extensively resorted to. Surgical procedures are limited to incisions into the skin. 164 753 757

Burial of the dead is carried out almost universally at present. Among the more primitive groups, however, the corpse is left in the hut which is simply pressed down so as to cover it. After a death has taken place the camp is deserted and not occupied again. Old people who are no longer able to help themselves are left in the werft with a supply of food and water. The rest of the group then move off and do not return to it again. 764 [184] 768 888

Dances and Games.

Dancing and games of various kinds enter very largely into the lives of the Bushmen. Of these the dance takes the first place among their social recreations. Some of the dances such as the *tsei*, *hũigi-ho*, and *ge-!ni* among the *ǂAo-//ẽin* and *Aikwe* and the */hawa-ǂnab* among the *Hei-//om* would appear to be of a religious nature, being danced only on ceremonial occasions, for example, during the initiation ceremonies. On the other hand dancing is often indulged in at night for pure pleasure, especially in times of plenty. The 535

535 nature of the latter may be gathered from the following dances of the */Koma-khoin*, *Xom-khoin* and *Go-gara-khoin* groups of the Etosha Pan *Hei-||om*. The common dance among the */Koma-khoin* is the *ǂgami-sab-ǂnab*. Rattles (*|gunu-gu*) are worn round the legs of the dancers. It is danced by men who go round in a circle in Indian file while the women chant and clap their hands. Women, however, may join in the dance one at a time. When this happens and she wants to return to her companions the men as a rule try to prevent her leaving the circle by dancing round her. The *Xom-khoin* also dance the *ǂgami-sab-ǂnab* but without rattles as they do not know how to make the latter. Among the *Hei-||om* of the Etosha region the *|gunu-gu* are used only by the */Koma-khoin* and *Go-gara-khoin*.

In the Jackal and Wolf dance (*|geirab tsi ǂhiras tsira ǂnab*) which is danced by men only, is represented an hyena, which is supposed to be feeding on a carcass, keeping off a couple of hungry jackals. Every now and again as the latter attempt to approach too close to the carcass the hyena scares them off and they jump out of the way.

The horse-dance (*ha-ǂnab*) is likewise danced by men only who go round quickly in a circle while the women clap their hands in imitation of the sound made by a galloping horse.

The *|gae-ǂnab* or gemsbuck dance represents a gemsbuck bull, cow and calf being chased by two men with three or four dogs. The bull and cow carry horns but the calf does not. The gemsbuck lead and are followed by the men and dogs, who dance to and fro on the flanks until the animals are brought at bay. Then the men pretend to shoot and one of the buck goes down wounded while the others make off pursued by some of the dogs. The wounded animal fights in realistic fashion, sweeping at both man and dogs with its horns. The dance is continued until all the animals have been accounted for. Bows and arrows are represented by sticks in this dance.

The Kudu dance (*dau-ba-ǂnab*) is danced by men among the *Xom-khoin* while the women chant and clap their hands. In it are represented various phases in the life of a herd of kudu. The hands of some of the dancers are held up to imitate the horns of the bulls. From time to time as it is in progress a couple of women join in the dancing for a short time. Among the */Koma-khoin* it is danced by women.

773 539 535 There is a legend that in the olden days the Klipkaffirs used to pay tribute daily in honey, ōintjes, etc., to the *gei-khoib* of the */Koma-khoin*. When for any reason they defaulted for two or three days, the *gei-khoib*, accompanied by his young men, set out for the Klipkaffir encampment to investigate. As soon as the latter became aware of the approach of the *gei-khoib* they grasped everything on which they could lay hands and made for his *||gāus*. On the way

they hurriedly collected whatever veldkos they came across, being closely followed by the *gei-khoib*. In the *ǂao-dama-ǂnab* or dance of the Klipkaffirs who live on the mountain tops, are depicted a couple of Klipkaffirs, carrying heavy loads and closely followed by the Bushmen armed with kirries. The Klipkaffirs are constantly glancing backwards as if anticipating a blow from a kirri. When they see any veldkos they squat down, hurriedly dig it up and place it in their bags. While on the way they are constantly being harassed and threatened with kirries by the pursuing Bushmen. The *ǂao-dama-ǂnab* originated with the Klipkaffirs to commemorate the time when they were held in bondage by the */Koma-khoin* and was taught by them to the latter. It is also known to other groups, *e.g.*, the *Xom-khoin*, but is danced mainly by the */Koma-khoin*. 773 539 535

The *Xom-khoin* have a dance in which are depicted the antics of a group of vultures at the carcass of a zebra. It is confined to men only but the women chant and clap their hands. The carcass is represented by a person lying down. A giant vulture is at the carcass. As the others, who are standing close together some distance away, approach in a row flapping their wings, he raises his wings and makes a dart at them which causes them to stop suddenly and retreat. This dance is known as *man-toeu tsi gei-aniti-ǂnab*. 535

Among all the remaining tribes dances of a similar description are met with, being based as a rule on episodes in the lives of wild animals. Thus the *ǂAo-//ein* and *Naron* have the turtle dove, duiker, porcupine, guineafowl, jackal and other dances. Games are played by grown-up people of both sexes as well as by children. Among the *Hei-//om* the men play their games on an open place cleared of scrub outside the werft. The principal game is the *bies-//hoib* which is played with a round tuber (*bies*). The players line up in two rows facing each other and the bies is rolled from one side to the other. As it approaches the opposite side each member of the latter in turn hurls a pointed stick, shaped like an assegaai (*hēi-heigu*) at it. If he misses, the *bies* is rolled to the now opposite side. If he should hit it the *bies* is left *in situ*, the sides cross over and it is rolled towards the winning side again. Those who have hit it have preference in hurling the *hei-heigu* at the *bies*. This game is played by the */Koma-khoin* only. 524

Among the games played by the women of these communities may be mentioned the *goarab-/hurub* or white monkey game of the *Xom-khoin*. A white monkey was once seen by a woman who ran home and told the others. The part of the monkey is taken by a woman who stands with her hands covering the sides of her face, leaving only a small opening for peeping through. She sways her head from side to side. The other women form up in a row opposite to her. One goes forward to look at the monkey, gazes at it intently and, when the latter starts moving its head from side to side, beckons and calls to the others to come and see the wonderful

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the rider. Sometimes two boys would make the horse, one boy 857
holding the wrists of another boy in front of him while a 526
third boy would ride, and these horses, reinforced, were much more successful, traveling farther at faster speeds. Now and then, as we talked by the fire, one of these little phantom creatures would rush silently by us in the dark, its dark rider in silhouette against the sky.

As we talked, we heard music, very sweet, sad music, as 533
though a music box were playing, coming to us from a little distance away. It was Gai's older son, the boy who had come back with us, playing the te k'na to himself. Thus we discovered that Gai had not fared as badly as it had seemed he did in his meeting with the strange Bushmen, for the te k'na had belonged to the man who had laughed at him. All the Bushmen at the fire, who loved music, stopped their talk to listen, and even the young boys were charmed from their game, for they moved silently toward him and crouched in the cold grass to listen, too. Soon they stood up to dance, a usual Bushman dance of men, taking small, pounding steps, [535] ●
moving in a circle. They danced very well, with freedom and with great precision, but they were too excited to dance for 857
long and instead began to play a dancing game called "Os- 526
trich," performed by two boys dancing forward to face each 535
other. As one either crouches or bends double from the hips, the other, who in the game is called the ostrich, swings his leg over the first boy's back without missing a beat in the rhythm. The boy who bent jumps backward as another boy steps in to take his place. This is repeated again and again, accompanied by spoken, rhythmic sounds: he he *hi*, hehe he *hi*, and the whole game is very fast and vigorous, requiring great practice and co-ordination, as the body movements, which often include the slapping of the elbows against the ribs, are sometimes at counterpoint to the spoken rhythm.

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857 The game represents ostriches, perhaps ostriches fighting or
526 mating.
535

The game was intoxicating. The boys danced so fast, so perfectly, and made their rhythm so vigorous and free, that Gai, who had been sitting quietly listening to Ukwane, could stand it no longer. Throwing his great cape around himself, he suddenly leaped to his feet and sprang among the little boys, scattering them like a hawk among sparrows, towering over their heads as he began to dance. He stamped, bent, straightened, and swung his long leg over the little boys' backs, dancing with far more abandon, not as precisely as they, but madly; he took our breath away.

He wore his great kaross backward, flung across his chest, and when he stood still waiting for his turn to leap forward and crouch he was as motionless and dignified as a tribune standing, and when he danced the great wings of his kaross swung like the cape of a bullfighter, masculine, open, and free. He was a wonderful sight, and the old people watching him smiled, and the little boys dancing under his long legs and under the wings of his cape looked up at him and laughed with pleasure because he was playing their game.

Gai was a man of great dignity and for him the dance was not altogether a success, for when the young boys tried to swing their legs over his back they generally kicked him in the rear or in the face. Soon he tired of it and came back to the fire to sit by Ukwane, but he was too excited to stay
524 quiet long and in a moment he tore off his cape and, calling
593 Ukwane and his oldest son, he began another rhythmic game,
533 called "Kaross." This is played by several men or boys who rub the kaross between their hands in the way that they rub it to soften or cure it, only they rub more vigorously and accompany themselves with several very rhythmic, very gay, fast songs, sung in falsetto, to imitate the falsetto singing of

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women because, say the men, women's voices are admirably beautiful.

Twikwe and Tsetchwe sat side by side, their legs straight out in front of them, the soles of their feet lit by the fire. They sang gaily and clapped their hands while the baby Nhwakwe walked up and down on Tsetchwe's leg, balancing himself like a child who is walking on a railing, then climbed to her shoulder and stood there triumphantly without holding on, gazing around like a child on a hill. He looked utterly astonished when Tsetchwe suddenly swept him to the ground and, flinging off her cape, jumped to her feet and began to dance. Everyone was astonished. Women almost never dance, although they are quite welcome to, but least of all Tsetchwe, a very conscientious mother and wife.

Tsetchwe's dance was extremely lively and extremely gay, and everyone except Nhwakwe looked up at her happily. She sang and waved her arms with great abandon, and danced her gay dance right behind the men, just for once flinging motherhood to the four winds and dancing right over her baby, who came trotting sadly after her, holding up his arms to be carried. In a moment the baby gave up and went to the lap of his grandmother, frowning as his mother danced happily by him again. When Tsetchwe finally got tired and flung herself down on the ground he ran to her and nursed immediately to reassure himself. She held him loosely in one arm as she coughed from exertion and laughed, with a pleased, shy expression on her face that said: this is what I used to do when I was younger.

When the people were tired of dancing they still seemed to feel like talking, and as the moon was down and the stars showed clearly we asked Ukwane to tell us something about the sky, and we pointed to several stars to learn their names.

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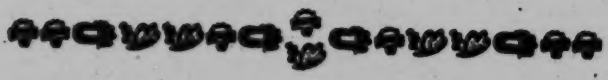

CHAPTER EIGHT

The Dancers

WHEN Bushmen dance their medicine dances, the medicine begins to work in the bodies of the medicine men. Medicine is warmed to potency as the exercise of dancing warms the shaman's body, and by the heat of the fire that the shaman dances around. The medicine purges evil and cures a sickness that is known to the Gikwe as "star sickness," a mysterious, magic sickness that has no tangible symptoms but together with evil is brought to people by the spirits of the dead. You can tell that powerful curing medicine is at work during one of these dances because the medicine men fall into trance, shudder and shriek and roll their eyes up into their heads, fall into the fire or wash their faces with flaming coals and are not burned, and when they rub their fire-warmed hands on you to cure you their hands are hot and dry and flutter like moths, and presently the star sickness leaves you, enters the bodies of the medicine men, and is shrieked into the air, hurled back to the spirits of the dead who brought it.

There are many types of medicine at work in the Kalahari, and every band among the Gikwe, Kung, or any Bushman nation possesses certain of these. Some bands, for instance,

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have the giraffe, rain, and gemsbok medicine. Others might have the ratel, fire, and gemsbok medicine. Ukwane's band had the sun, dove, and gemsbok medicine. Almost every band has the gemsbok medicine, for magically the gemsbok are very important animals, obvious from the black medicine markings on a gemsbok's face.

The medicine songs are songs without words and are given to both Kung and Gikwe Bushmen by the great god who sends his messengers, the spirits of the dead, to a sleeping person. The spirits of the dead teach the person a medicine song in a dream, and when the person awakens he teaches the song to the other members of his band.

At dances, women sing the medicine songs, men dance and use the medicine to cure people, for almost all men are made medicine men when they are in their late teens, after they have been initiated into manhood, having shot their first buck. They are made medicine men by older medicine men, and although any Bushman man may become a medicine man, only certain of them find that they have strong healing power, and these are the ones who practice, who fall into trance at dances and chase evil from their people. Ukwane himself had been one of these. None of the people he cured ever died, he said, but as he grew old his powers seemed to leave him, so now he did not practice any more. In his band Gai became the strong healer.

Of course, a medicine dance is a great affair, for it usually takes place at night and lasts all night into the morning. Everyone in the band takes part, every young boy old enough to walk may dance, every young girl may sing with the women, and women themselves may dance if they feel inclined. People talk, eat, and smoke between dances, or go off to bed to sleep for a while, so, all in all, dances are social af-

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fairs as well as important curing ceremonies and might be called informal rituals, for everyone has a good time.

Underlying the gaiety and informality of a dance, however, is deep magic, taken very seriously by everyone, for using this magic is the way in which the Bushmen protect themselves from the dark forces in themselves and their country, the only way in which they can protect their lives from the evil of dissension, from thirst and starvation, from disease and death. In their dances the Bushmen defy the great god himself and his ominous messengers, the spirits of the dead.

To have a dance, the women sit in a circle with their babies asleep on their backs and sing the medicine songs in several parts with falsetto voices, clapping their hands in a sharp, staccato rhythm at counterpoint to the rhythm of their voices. Behind their backs the men dance one behind the other, circling slowly around, taking very short, pounding steps which are again at counterpoint to both the rhythms of the singing and the clapping. Now and then the men sing, too, in their deeper voices, and their dance rattles—rattles made from dry cocoons strung together with sinew cords and tied to their legs—add a sharp, high clatter like the sound of shaken gourds, very well timed because the men step accurately. A Bushman dance is an infinitely complicated pattern of voices and rhythm, an orchestra of bodies, making music that is infinitely varied and always precise.

It is with great care and effort that this perfection is achieved, for the people learn the songs and dances when they are children and work for perfection in skill and timing all their lives. Even the dance rattles are carefully tended, hung from tree branches to preserve their dryness, their sharp sound, and a great deal of labor goes into their making. Gai's pair of rattles, which swung in the wind from the branch that

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534 shaded his dwelling, had about sixty cocoons on each rattle of the pair, and in each cocoon, from which the pupa had been carefully extracted and the cocoon closed up again, there were from ten to twenty fragments of ostrich eggshell, each fragment chipped to a uniform size and round. Each pair of rattles, of course, is expected to last a lifetime and more, and I'm sure that Gai's rattles were older than he.

621 The day before we left, Ukwane's band and the visitors
578 from Okwa decided that since they were all together and in
756 sufficient number, they would hold a dance. Perhaps it would
533 purge the bad season or relieve the strain of jealousies they felt toward each other. Dances are usually held at night, but this time, out of consideration for us, they agreed to hold it during the day so that we could film it. We found a place which would be suitable for filming, helped gather sufficient wood because there would have to be a fire, no matter how hot the day was, and as we did all this the six young boys got more and more excited, tried on dance rattles, danced tight little circles around each other and tugged at the elbows of the adults, urging them to start.

756 Some of the women wanted to sing, others felt too hot, too
535 tired, but the men walked among them encouraging them all.
533 A dance is long, hot work for women, the pleasure of dancing being mostly for the men. At last Twikwe and Dasina went to the spot chosen for the dance and, sitting side by side at the fire, their backs to everybody, sang a few bars and began to talk, then sang a little more, joined now by Tsetchwe, who sat beside them and began to sing in earnest. All three of them looked so small down in the grass and set up such a loud noise singing—for in order to interest the other women they were shricking the song at the top of their voices—that they seemed like three tree frogs or three cicadas, hard to notice in the landscape but putting forth earsplitting songs.

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Gikwe

At last a few more women joined the singers and the sing- 756
ing mounted, the voices took on several parts. At last the 535
men began to join, dancing toward the circle in twos and 533
threes, moaning the song in their throats, leaning on long staffs, their coming heralded by the dry, loud staccato of their rattles.

The men came from different directions, and they stood so tall and danced so strongly, with their muscles standing out on their necks, that their coming was like the coming of bull antelope, they were so radiant of strength and tension, they were so lithe and male. They came together out of the trees and, without the slightest change of pace, arranged themselves around the dance circle, wheeling slowly, one after the other, and the dance began.

The air was hot, the sun was shining strongly, the fire was 786
sending a shuddering cloud of heat around the dancers, and 756
as the dancers moved almost imperceptibly faster and faster, 535
Gai suddenly flung his arms into the air and with a piercing shriek crashed to the ground. He landed stiffly with a bounce, his head cracking. On the ground he writhed and groaned, and Ukwane pulled him by the arms to remove his body from the dance circle.

Gai was in deep trance. Ukwane was ministering to Gai's body because Gai's spirit had rushed away.

Bushmen say that when the medicine in a medicine man 774
becomes stimulated by a dance, warmed by the fire and by 756
the heat of the man's body, the man's spirit may leave him, 535
causing his body to fall because there is nothing there to hold it up, and fly into the veld, where it seeks out the evil that is troubling people. Some medicine men in this way have seen the spirits of the dead, some have seen the great god. At another dance we once attended, one man's spirit rushed into the veld, where it came upon a pride of lions that had been

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GiKwe

774 troubling the people by their constant presence and by their
756 deafening roars at night. The man's spirit spoke with the
535 lions, defied them, and ordered them away, and the lions did go; they troubled the people no longer.

786 When the spirit returns, the medicine man comes to him-
756 self, as Gai did presently. He stood up and ran into the veld,
535 gaining speed as he went. Far out in the veld he screamed, a shriek of definace, then turned and charged back toward the dance fire. He passed through the dance like a wind through dry leaves; the people ducked aside and shrank away from his feet, then settled together when he had gone by. Gai shrieked again, turned himself, and rushed back, charging bull-like toward the fire again; this time Ukwane seized his arms and though Gai plowed forward, Ukwane hung on, dragging behind with all his weight, until at last Gai fell headlong into the dance fire and his hair burst into flames.

Ukwane snatched him out and slapped out the fire in his hair, and Gai, his mouth open and his eyes quite wild, sparks still falling from his head like stars, strained against Ukwane's hands. At last he broke away.

786 In a moment he bent slowly over the fire and washed his
756 hands in the flames, then went to one of the women in the
535 circle of singers and, placing one hand on her chest, the other
783 on her back, shuddered and groaned as he sucked the evil from her, then straightened suddenly and shrieked the evil into the air. In this way Gai cured all the people, followed as he went by Ukwane, who now held Gai's arm to keep him upright. Before long, Gai had fallen again exhausted and was dragged by the ankles to a place in the shade.

786 I looked at him and saw that his eyes were closed, his eye-
756 lids puffed, and thought he seemed unconscious. His breath
535 came rasping through his mouth and nose, and his pulse, showing in "the heart's place," seemed very quick. But he

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GiKwe

was all right; no one paid any attention to him as they would have had he not been well. His baby came to watch him, though, and gazed down into his swollen face.

It was very hot. The dancers and the women singing steamed with perspiration, first becoming gold in color, then ash white as dust stuck to them. Soon the women felt that they had sung enough, their feelings showing clearly in the diminished vigor of their songs, until finally the singing faded out entirely and the dance stopped. The men complained, but the women would sing no more and presently everyone had drifted away, leaving only the children wheeling slowly around the track worn by the dancers' feet, dancing soberly, carefully, without music, and Gai, who now lay prone and forgotten in the dust, in the shade of a little tree.

Hours later, when even the children had wandered back to the werfs and had joined their parents, who were tired from the exercise and were taking afternoon naps, Gai came to himself once more; he sat up and wiped his face, got slowly to his feet, and walked slowly home to sleep, next to his wife beside their fire.

All the Bushmen were asleep but Twikwe. Some people lay on their backs with their arms shading their eyes, their mouths open, some on their bellies, their arms and legs sprawled. All the young boys except Giamakwe lay like puppies, tangled together in a knot of arms and legs, for even in sleep they would not be parted. Giamakwe slept at a little distance from the others on his side with his body bent backward into a U, his head almost touching his buttocks, as limp and supple as a young snake or a young cat that drapes over your hand. Even Nhwakwe was fast asleep, lying on his belly and using as his couch his father's body, his head on his father's chest. Both were deep in slumber, Nhwakwe snoring

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Kung

the old man with a funeral, and they had had to abandon his sister's body as it was.

The headman lifted the old man from the ground and we saw that he had not been weeping but had only been lying inert and helpless, powerless now to keep himself erect. On our truck he lay just where we put him, motionless, prone, all the way back. We passed the grove where his sister lay, a grove of high white trees with red beans on their branches, and the old man did not turn his head to look.

After that, the situation for the people who remained at Gautscha got better because the summer came. Great cloud-banks like mountains formed at the horizon, dispersed themselves in brown haze, and formed again, getting larger day by day. Some of the bands who had left Gautscha began to return and once again the countryside was populous, the air filled with the murmur of voices and the smell of smoke from the many fires. Some of the men went hunting and shot a giraffe, so there was lots of meat for a while.

One day some of us went to a place called Kubi Pan to see a cheetah that was supposed to live there, but instead we saw a flock of guinea fowl walking along in single file as people do, raising a cloud of dust. Two of them began to fight because it was their mating season. When we got to Kubi it was evening and the clouds on the horizon were very thick, and just when the sun set into them the full moon rose on the other side, causing a balance of the two great bodies over the earth.

It seemed to be an auspicious night. On the way home we felt something electric in the air and when we got to Gautscha the moon had risen high and pale in the clouds and we found that the Bushmen were dancing the rain dance. Everyone was there, the women all singing and the men wheeling

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Kung

789 in a circle around the dance fire, the clouds of dust rising un-
535 der their feet making them look like specters in the eerie light between the fire and the moon. The dance was very powerful. The men wheeled faster, the singing mounted in pitch. A medicine man coming from a far werf and singing as he came sprang among the dancers like a leopard, soft-footed and fine, and as he looked around him for a moment before beginning to dance, the moon behind his head filled a white ostrich feather in his hair with light. He smiled to himself, then, dancing suddenly, led the other dancers in a serpentine track through the circle of women, over the fire, and out the other side. The wind blew hard along the ground, and the smoke and fire streamed into the veld. The singing was very hard, very fast, and as the dancers swung around the circle dancing harder and faster, it suddenly began to rain.

It was like a miracle. It was the first rain of the year. First, there were just a few drops, but soon it was raining steadily in gusts behind the wind, causing the dancers to relax a little but to continue their dancing without paying attention to the fact that they were drenched. A bolt of lightning illuminated the veld for miles around with a blue-green light not of this world, showing all the trees and bushes stark and rain-lashed in the grass, then a blast of thunder as the light went out which struck us deaf as the lightning had struck us blind. For a moment it was black and still except for the lashing rain, and in the silence we heard a lion roaring far out in the veld, answered by another lion which was a little nearer, and then a peal of thunder shook them silent, drowning even their great voices.

132 The people had not danced to bring the rain; they had
[78] known that rain was coming and had danced to use its strong medicine. It rained all night, the rain so drenching and torrential that it put out the dance fire and drove the dancers

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very sleek and prosperous, for they were staggering under loads of food, their bags and nets bulging with tsi and their carrying-poles strung with the meat of the gemsbok. They put down their loads and the women began immediately to make a large and busy werf on the far side of Toma's. In a very short time the werf was built and strewn with food and objects, and the people sitting among their possessions looked so comfortable and settled that one would never have thought that they had just arrived.

The old woman, Short Kwi's mother-in-law, did cry when she found her daughter gone. She squatted sadly on the ground and wiped her tears from her wrinkled, dusty cheeks with her fingers. All her relatives, clustered around her, trying to comfort her, telling her that, after all, her daughter would return, that she herself would be looked after and not allowed to starve, and presently the old woman stopped crying, wiped her eyes, and got up to build herself a tiny hut, a shade of grass and branches.

That night, when darkness fell, when the moon rose blood red among the trees and the frogs in the pan began their singing, we were again sitting by our fire, again hosts to a good many visitors, when we heard high voices singing a medicine song. We stood up to look over the grass and saw a fire where no werf was, with five young girls around it singing, clapping a rhythm, their faces lit red by the fire and their backs lit palely by the moon. They were all alone there, far from their homes.

We asked our visitors if there was going to be a dance, which did not seem likely, everyone being in such low spirits, and those who wanted to dance said yes while those who didn't said no. Soon some little children joined the dance, though, among them Little Gashe and Little Dabe. Little

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535 Little
857 Dabe was evidently being minded by his brother, for he
[857] arrived riding on Little Gashe's back, a heavy load, and Little Gashe danced in a circle behind the young girls carrying Little Dabe, then, perhaps getting tired, stopped dancing and shook Little Dabe off. When Little Dabe was standing Little Gashe climbed on Little Dabe's back to let Little Dabe do the dancing for a while. Soon these children were joined by some older boys and they all bobbed along happily, one behind the other, quite small and lit dimly in the big dance circle they were making for themselves.

The girls sang well. Their songs and the sharp rhythm of their clapping floated over the dark veld to us, mixed with the voices of the frogs. The frogs croaked so loudly by the pan, their croaking floated so clearly over the water, that for a while the girls just clapped their hands and let the frogs sing for them. The girls and the frogs kept time, and as the frog voices gradually faded the girls began to sing again themselves and presently, two or three at a time, our visitors went away from our fire to their scherms and later, a few at a time, appeared again at the dance fire with wood to burn or dance rattles to wear, some joining the singers and dancers, some others building small fires of their own in the veld a little apart from the dance fire. Before long, every werf was represented.

In the veld, where we were standing, the moonlight shone, making black shadows and pale, cool light. The air was still and warm and fragrant with the grasses of the veld and the voices came to us softly. At the fire the dancers wheeled slowly in their course around the circle, and the firelight shone in flickering beams through their stamping, naked legs, red on their naked backs. We could not see them plainly because they were far away, but we moved toward them and the sing-

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ing got louder, we heard the low sound of stamping feet and the low singing of the men's voices, no longer obscured by the pure, high singing of the women, and when we were there we were inside the cloud of red, luminous dust, and the sounds of rattles and clapping rang in our ears.

More and more women joined the singing girls, each throwing some sticks on the dance fire as she came, then finding a place to squat in the circle, the others shuffling apart to make room, and soon the fire burned up brightly, lighting the dust stirred up by the dancers' feet and showing the huddled circle of women, who by now looked like a flock of birds crouched on the ground, they were so tightly crowded, their karosses like hunched, folded wings and their heads up alertly; the bright dance fire showed too the oval faces of the visitors, the smallest ones near the ground, the larger ones a little higher, and as more and more men appeared from the darkness to join the dance the dust cloud rose higher and thicker until it seemed to shine of itself, like a veil or an illusion, and you couldn't be sure if what you saw was there before you or reflected.

Within an hour everyone was there. It behooves one to go to a medicine dance because the spirits of the dead, waiting in the shadows around the dance fire and on their paths above the veld, might carry off a person if he stayed at home alone.

In the circle, one man was dancing with his child on his shoulder, and the child, naked and golden-skinned on the naked brown shoulder, looked gravely down. Other children were dancing, Little Dabe and Little Gashe among them, Little Gashe carrying Little Dabe again, going slower and slower because he was tired. At last Beautiful Ungka picked up both Little Gashe and his passenger, put them in her

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Kung

535 854 kaross, and carried them to their mother; in this way, one by one, the dancing babies were eliminated and the circle was left to the men.

535 786 The dance went on all night, reaching a climax after midnight when the moon was high and sailing overhead. The medicine men were seized with trances that shook their bodies and rattled their teeth and sent them rushing headlong into the black shadows to curse at the spirits of the dead. Dust mounted, the sound of the high singing and the rattles was deafening, and even in the pauses between dances the medicine men screamed.

535 When hours had passed, when the moon was low and only its thick red glow showed on the horizon, the dance reached a lull and many people went home. Soon only a core of dancers and singers remained, perhaps twenty people in all. These were the strong young men, wiry enough to have withstood ten hours of dancing, and the old widows and middle-aged women, those who had no small children to worry them, women who were tougher than the young girls and did not mind that they felt tired. It is a strong thing to dance all night; it brings powerful, enduring medicine, and these few people, willing to withstand fatigue and cold, wore away the night to dance for the medicine of the rising sun.

When the moon was down and the dance fire had burned to embers, was almost out, I went to the veld to gather firewood. Just then the first stars began to dim in the soft, cold air, the eastern sky turned pale; faintly, the first birds began 535 533 to cry, and from where I stood in the veld I heard the song change to the sun-dance. The song lasted only for a moment, as the singers acknowledged the paleness, and a little later, as the light in the east became brighter and the colors of the

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veld began to show, the women sang the sun-dance fully, a song quite different from the others, very even, very simple, steady, dignified, and grave.

The dawn wind lifted and blew away the smoke and dust and made the people shiver. The light showed the dancers moving stiffly, the singers hunched together for support and warmth, and revealed dusty, dirty faces and dirty teeth. Dust had made mud in the corners of our mouths and eyes.

Only about ten women were singing in the circle now, and they sat all together at one spot, leaving a lot of space around the fire; only four men danced and they moved slowly in their track, burdened by their rattles. They, too, stayed close together so that most of their huge track was bare.

When the sun was over the horizon the dance stopped. The women ended their song abruptly, stood up, shook the dust and straw from their clothing, and walked away. They did not speak to one another because they were tired. The men talked for a moment as they sat down, stretched, untied their rattles, before walking off two by two toward their werfs. Soon all that remained was the dance track, a deep circular rut in the ground, the big heap of dead white ashes, and the dusty bushes and trees.

The people who had been dancing during the night slept all through the heat of the day and as the afternoon came, lying in the shade of trees and bushes. Flies buzzed over them, the afternoon shadows lengthened and the day cooled, and still they slept on.

When the light was red and the sun was almost setting, the women began to stir, getting to their feet slowly, and then alone or in twos and threes, followed by their children, walked down the path to the water, the last ones to leave

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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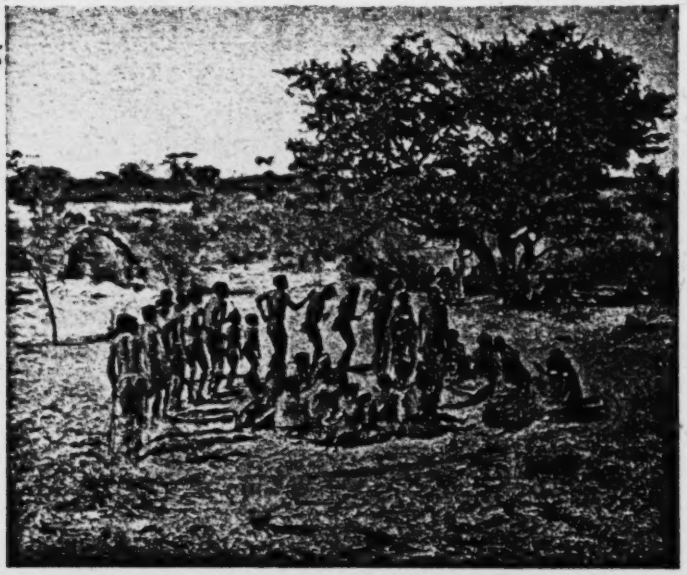

6. The curing dance; the men cut through the circle of singing, clapping women. The time for dancing is the night, but occasionally the /Kung dance in the daytime when there is a reason, such as obliging us when we asked for a daytime dance to photograph or as a preliminary to a *ckama* ceremony

7. The dance rattles, strings of cocoons, add a swish, swish to the thud of the small, strong, stamping steps

[p. 228 (D)]

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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8. Occasionally a woman dances with the men for a brief time. All the men who are dancing except two (fourth and sixth from right) are practising medicine men. The one at the farthest left and the one bending forward are beginning to go into trance. Others hold them. In this stage they cure the people, leaning over one and then another, laying on their hands, and making their 'medicine' gestures and sounds

[p.228 (E)]

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9. The next stage of trance

10. Two medicine men in deep trance; the people rest

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12. Five medicine men at sunrise after they had danced and cured all night long. The women must still clap and sing the protective medicine music. The men in semi-trance care for those in deep trance, or 'half-death', as they call it

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13. The tradition is continued. Playing 'dance', a little girl claps and sings while two boys dance around her

[p. 228 (H)]

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The Ceremonial Curing Dance

The ceremonial curing dance is the one religious act which has form and in which the people are united. The purpose of the dance is to cure sickness and to drive away evil. If there is actual sickness among the people or if real misfortune has come upon them, the dance will be held especially to cure these ills. But the people dance often when no one is actually known to be sick, and when no particular misfortune has come, to drive away evil which might be there but which one cannot see, and to feel protected by goodness.

The protecting goodness is the 'medicine', the magic power called *gaoxa*, which the /Kung believe the great god puts into the bodies of the medicine men and into the medicine songs. The /Kung believe that the great god endowed the power with its own autonomous potency, but nevertheless account for its failing to cure sometimes by saying that the all-powerful god allows it to work or not, according to his pleasure or displeasure. *Gaoxa* is the power evoked and activated during the curing dance.

I believe the ceremonial curing dance to be a religious act, but, although very serious, especially in its final curing aspect, it is not piously solemn or constrained and it provides occasion for pleasure and aesthetic satisfaction. The music can be sung at any time, for lullabies or just for singing. Music and dancing are the arts of the /Kung. The good young dancers, especially, feel the delight which is inherent in fine integration of movement and rhythm (one can see this clearly), and the people watch and admire good dancing and take pleasure in it, and in the music.

[517 533]

Furthermore, the dances are a socially unifying factor. All the people of the werf come together and participate, men and women, old and young. The men often dance with their babies on their shoulders in the early part of the dance, and the children dance and play among them, until they fall fast asleep in their mothers' laps.

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Anyone who wants a dance may start it by going around to people and asking them to come and begin. Someone who was sick would ask for a dance, but young people who love to dance often start just for fun. Sometimes their dances do not turn into curing dances, but usually, once the music begins, the adults join in and the dance becomes a real one. The dances last all night oftener than not. There is a special potency in those which are danced at dawn. The /Kung dance, at irregular intervals, on an average of once in ten days, more or less. Almost invariably they dance at least once during the full moon.

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Among the /Kung the women and girls always sit close together in a circle around a dance fire which may be built wherever there is convenient clear space. Their function is to clap and sing. The men dance in a line, one close behind the another, around the circle of women, in either direction, and cut through the circle past the fire. They sing as they dance. Occasionally a woman gets up and dances with them, though it is not her role, as though she could no longer resist the impulse. When a woman joins the line of dancers, the man behind her holds out his arms towards her but does not touch her. She dances with dignity, making tiny stamping steps, hardly moving, eyes cast down. If there is a delicate overtone of eroticism expressed in the dancing of the women, it is most subtle and constrained—in extreme contrast to the overt expression of many of the Bantu dances.

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The dancing of the men in the curing ceremonial dances has its own special style. In other dances, that of the *Choma*, the Men's Dance, the Eland Dance of the First Menstruation Ceremony, and in the numerous singing-dancing or rhythmic games which the /Kung play for fun, one sees enchanting pantomime and imitation of animals. In the ceremonial dances we sometimes thought we saw what might be a vestige of the imitation of animals' horns in the way the arms were held, but in comparison with the visual expressiveness of the games, the purpose is not to express by gesture but to produce sound, to be part of the music.

The men wear rattles made of strings of dried cocoons with little seeds or stones inside, which make a swishing sound. These are the only instruments used in the dance. (The /Kung, incidentally, have no drums.) The men dance with knees bent and bodies carried with little motion, leaning forward. On the strong accented beat, the dancer gives a hop and comes down with both feet. On the second beat he holds his weight on one foot (alternating right and left) and with the other stamps a single step or ripples two or three light stamps into the time of the single step. The steps are very precise. They are minute in size, advancing only two or three inches, but they are strongly stamped, and ten or twenty dancers stamping together produce a loud thud. The women clap loudly and sharply. The majority of them clap the basic pattern of a particular piece, while some strike a beat or beats which are complementary to the basic beat. The clapping and stamping are of such precision that they give the effect of a well-played battery of percussion instruments producing a solid structure of intricate rhythm. Above the percussion sounds, the voices of the men and women weave together in parts, singing the medicine songs.[1] Since singing and dancing are one, producing the music, I speak of medicine songs or medicine dances interchangeably.

The medicine songs or dances of the /Kung are named *Rain*, *Sun*, *Giraffe*, *Eland*, *Honey*, *Buffalo*, and *Mamba*. Some of the /Kung have *Gemsbok* and *Spider* Medicine music as well. The Rain Dance is not danced as a specific rain-making ceremony. The dances named for animals do not produce magic to control these animals in hunting or to prevent snake-bite, for example. The dances are named for these things because the things are vital, life-and-death things and they are strong, as the curing medicine in the music is strong.

After several dances have been danced the medicine men begin to cure. The /Kung do not have sorcerers, witches, or witch doctors, and do not believe that the divine beings enter into the medicine men or speak through them. Almost all the /Kung men are medicine men. They do not all choose to practise, for one reason or another, but there are always several in a band who are active. Medicine men receive no rewards other than their inner satisfactions and emotional release. I know that some of them feel a deep responsibility for the welfare of their people and great anxiety and concern if their curing fails, and a corresponding satisfaction if it prevails. Others of them appear to be less concerned about the people whom they try to cure and more inwardly tutned.

When the medicine men are curing, all of them experience varying degrees of self-induced trance, which includes a period of frenzy and a period of semi-

[1] Nicholas England is in the process of tracing the songs and analysing the music, and he has a paper in preparation which will include /Kung beliefs and practices about them.

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consciousness or deep unconsciousness.[1] They may become stiff or froth at the mouth or lie still as if in coma. Some of them habitually remain in trance only a short time, others for hours. One man used to remain in a semi-trance for most of the day following a dance.

A Bushman curing cannot be fully described in words; it must be heard and I give only an outline here. The medicine man begins by dancing and singing with the others whatever medicine song is being sung. He then leaves the line of dancing men and leans, still singing, over the person he is going to cure. He places one hand on the person's chest, one on his or her back, and flutters his hands. The /Kung believe that in this way he draws the sickness, real or potential, out of the person through his own arms into himself. He grunts with shuddering, gurgling, gasping grunts which intensify in tempo and pitch into shrieks and reach a high, piercing, quavering yell. Finally the medicine man throws up his arms to cast the sickness out, hurling it into the darkness back to *//Gauwa* or the *//gauwasi*, with a sharp yelping cry of ' *Kai Kai Kai* '. This shows that it is heavy work to draw the sickness out. The effect of the sound on one observer, myself, was striking—gooseflesh and a stopping of the breath which made it seem as though the heart stood still an instant. A medicine man goes to every person present, leaning over each to cure, even the babies, who, amazingly, seldom cry, though he gurgles and gasps right into their ears. If someone is actually sick, he returns to him again and again through the night.

After the curing has been going on for some time, medicine men begin to reach their state of frenzy. They no longer go around to the people, their spasms of grunting and shrieking become more frequent and violent, their stomachs heave, they stagger and sway. They rush to the fire, trample it, pick up the coals, set fire to their hair. Fire activates the medicine in them. People hold them to keep them from falling and beat out the flames. They rush out into the darkness, where *//Gauwa* and the *//gauwasi* are lurking. They hurl burning sticks and swear at them. ' Filthy face! Take away the sickness you have brought.' ' Uncovered penis[2]! You are bad. You want to kill us. Go away.' ' *Hishe*, you are a liar. This man will not die.' At this point they may fall into deep unconsciousness or sink down semi-conscious, eyes closed, unable to walk.

The medicine men who have not reached their full frenzy or who have passed through it attend those who are in it. The /Kung believe that at such a time the medicine man's spirit leaves his body and goes out to meet *//Gauwa* and the *//gauwasi*. They call this ' half death '. It is a dangerous time and the man's body must be watched over and kept warm. The medicine men lean over the one who is in trance. They

[1] The /Kung know about the drug called dagga. They told us that it grows in B.P. and that when they go to trade they sometimes get a little. They like to have some when they go hunting; it keeps one from feeling tired or discouraged, they say. They might take some at a dance if they had it, but they are not dependent on it or on any other substance to induce trance. The trances are psychologically induced.

[2] /Kung men swear a great deal. The swearing plays always upon the themes of the genital organs, sexual intercourse, incest, and excrement. In deprecation they call each other genital organs or tell each other to go and commit incest with their mothers, sisters, wives' mothers, or sons' wives. We have not recorded their saying ' daughter '. Is that thought so terrible to them that its expression is beyond even these hardened swearers? They use the same themes in their blasphemy against the gods. ' Uncovered ' or ' thrown-away penis ' may mean ' circumcised '. This is a great insult among the /Kung who do not circumcise but know that the Bantu do. ' Filthy face ' means ' covered with excrement '.

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shriek and gurgle. They blow in his ears to open them. They take sweat from their armpits and rub him. Some fall over on to him in trance themselves and are in turn rubbed and cared for by the others. The women must sing and clap ardently while a man is in deep trance. He needs the good medicine of the music to protect him.

The curing dance draws people of a Bushman band together into concerted action as nothing else does. They stamp and clap and sing with such precision that they become like an organic being. In this close configuration—together—they face the gods. They do not plead, as they do in their individual supplications, for the favour of the divine, all-powerful beings, and do not praise them for goodness. Instead, the medicine men, on behalf of the people, releasing themselves from ordinary behaviour by trance and overcoming fear and inaction, throw themselves into combat with the gods and try to force them with hurled sticks and hurled words to take away the evils they might be bringing.

The violence and excitement of the ceremony have the effect, as in a drama, I believe, of releasing the emotions of the people and purging them, in Aristotle's sense. Fear and hostility find outlet and the people have acted together to protect themselves. In this there is solace and hope.

Résumé

LA RELIGION DES BOSCHIMANS /KUNG

Les Boschimans /Kung de la région de Nyae Nyae dans le sud-ouest de l'Afrique croient qu'il existe deux dieux — le grand créateur, qui habite dans l'est du ciel, où le soleil se lève, et le petit dieu qui est subordonné au grand dieu, et qui habite dans l'ouest du ciel où le soleil se couche.

Le grand dieu possède sept noms divins, que les /Kung ont peur de prononcer, et un seul nom humain. Certains de ces noms (d'après Schapera ce sont *Hishe*, *Hauw* et *Kxu*) indiquent que le concept du grand dieu tire son origine des croyances anciennes soutenues par d'autres Boschimans et par les Hottentots. Ces noms sont associés avec un être suprême bien disposé. Divers groupes de Boschimans croyaient dans un esprit malfaisant, un 'avant-coureur de la mort', *‖Gauwa*. D'après la croyance actuelle des /Kung de la région de Nyae Nyae, le grand dieu a fait du petit dieu son homonyme en lui accordant tous ses noms divins (mais non son nom humain), et *‖Gauwa* est un des sept noms divins qui sont attribués aux deux dieux. Le nom humain *≠Gao/na*, le vieux *≠Gao*, est celui du protagoniste de plusieurs vieux contes bizarres, un être ayant des pouvoirs surnaturels, mais ressemblant à un homme et soumis à toutes les frustrations humaines. Les /Kung ont amalgamé l'ancien protagoniste et le grand dieu en ce qui concerne le nom, mais ils ont modifié l'image.

Le grand dieu s'est d'abord créé lui-même, et ensuite il a créé le petit dieu. Pour chacun d'eux, il a créé une épouse qui a donné naissance à des enfants. Il a créé la terre et le ciel, la femme et l'homme et il a donné des noms à toutes choses. Il a donné le nom de son épouse, Khwova, à la première femme, et son propre nom *≠Gao* au premier homme. Le grand dieu et le petit dieu s'intéressent principalement à l'humanité. Ni l'un ni l'autre n'est associé essentiellement avec le bien ou le mal à l'égard de l'homme; tous les deux peuvent apporter de grands biens, tels que la pluie, la nourriture et les enfants, mais aussi la mort, la maladie

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They hang meat in the bushes to dry and can keep it for some time. It is not uncommon for them to eat quite sparingly and save bits for a coming journey or against a future day of hunger, as they eat sparingly of mangetti nuts and *tsi* when they must make a supply they have carried from a great distance last as long as possible.

The !Kung are well accustomed to restraining themselves in regard to food. Thus when a visitor comes to a fire where people are preparing food or eating, he should sit at a discreet distance, not to seem importunate, and wait to be asked to share.

Although the hunters supply only about a fifth of the people's food and the women four fifths, the women play a dependent role in !Kung society. Nevertheless, the men do not ill-treat the women and require no extreme form of obedience or subservience of them.

The primary factor in the dominance of the men is undoubtedly strength. !Kung men are small and slender, but they are wiry and vigorous and, with their strength, they carry and protect the very life of their people.

Another factor that brings men clearly forward is the character of hunting and its reward. Women bring the daily food, but there is nothing splendid about returning with vegetables and wood. Many of the vegetable foods, furthermore, are rather tasteless and harsh and are not very satisfying. The return of the hunters is vastly different. The intense craving for meat, the anxiety that goes with the hunt, the deep excitement of the kill, finally the eating and the satisfaction reach to the very core of the people, engaging powerful emotions. Once a young man, /Qui, who was said to be the best hunter in the region, had been charged by a magnificent cock ostrich on a big open pan where there was no refuge. He knelt, facing the creature, until it was within close range and shot an arrow straight into its heart. Back in the werf, while the meat was being cut up and distributed by /Qui's wife's brothers, he slept exhausted on the mound of black and white plumes and the women—some of the plumes in their hair—danced a dance of praise around him. This is the role of !Kung hunters.

MATERIAL CULTURE

HOUSE TYPE AND SETTLEMENT PATTERN • The building of the scherm—the Bushman reed-and-grass dwelling—is women's work, associated with vegetation and gathering. Each woman builds for her own family. However, unless no better shade can be found or unless it is raining, the women often do not bother to build these shelters. Especially after the long days of walking, it is easier just to settle in the bushes.

In the Nyae Nyae region, wood and grass are everywhere, and a woman can gather her material and build her scherm in less than an hour. She breaks up flexible branches about six feet long, digs holes with her

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513 882 together may sleep near the parents of one of them, but not exactly at the parents' fire.

855 857 Within the frame of protectiveness the parents are very permissive and make few, if any, demands on their children. With no houses and few utensils, there are not many household tasks to assign. Children are not sent off alone to do any of the daily work of fetching water or wood or [136] gathering veldkos. Although lions, leopards, and hyenas tend to mind their own business, they are present in the country and share the water holes with the Bushmen. Poisonous snakes are a very real danger. Furthermore, as the hunters say, it takes a lifetime to learn the country well enough not to be easily lost in the featureless grass and brush. The adults do not let their children out of their sight. In their parents' presence the children imitate adult activities in vital, active play, very engaging to watch, and [868] participate in actual work as they are able. The adults pause to show them how to hold a digging stick, or a toy bow or drill, so that play and learning merge.

524 857 [512] The !Kung have a rich variety of lively group games, with pantomime, singing, dancing, and other rhythmic movements, that children and adults together enjoy playing in the werf when the heat of the day is over. In most of their games boys and girls play separately, but they dance and sing together.

861 !Kung children are never harshly punished. One father said that if he had a boy who was quarrelsome or who disobeyed the rules—for instance, the absolute rule of the !Kung against stealing food or possessions—what he would do about it would be to keep the boy right with him until he learned 857 sense. The children on their part do not often do things that call forth 156 punishment. They usually fall in with group life and do what is expected of them without apparent uncertainty, frustration, or fear; and expressions of resistance or hostility toward their parents, the group, or each other are very much the exception.

881 [173] [171] [562] PUBERTY • When the fathers of the present old men were young men, the Nyae Nyae !Kung adopted the ceremony of the *Choma*, which they said was taught to them by a !Kung man who had married into another language group in the south. The *Choma* resembles some Bantu initiation ceremonies at certain points. The men who have had the ceremony and are therefore *Choma* owners take the boys to a place far enough from the werf to be out of hearing of the women, who, the !Kung claim, would die if they [535] heard some of the *Choma* sounds. The men and boys dance all night for several nights to special *Choma* songs with special rhythms that differ from [534] those of the other dances. A secret bull-roarer plays a part in the ceremony. [902] At the end the boys are scarified with a vertical line down the middle of [304] their foreheads and are given a special *Choma* haircut. Circumcision or other genital operations are not practiced by the !Kung.

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!Kung

other genital operations are not practiced by the !Kung. The *Choma* is not compulsory; most boys take part but a few refuse. *Choma* owners do not form a corporate sodality. !Kung society has no such units except kinship groups.

Another ceremony for boys, which is presumably ancient and traditionally Bushman, must be performed before a boy can marry. This ceremony is performed twice for each boy, individually, on the occasion of his first killing a large game animal, once for the first male, once for the first female. The meat is cooked at a special fire, which women must avoid, and is eaten ceremonially by the men. The boy is scarified, by his father or another male relative, on his right side for the first male animal, on his left side for the first female. Little vertical cuts are made in his skin in lines on his arms, chest, back, and forehead, and a paste of charred meat and fat is rubbed into them. This is to ensure his seeing well, shooting well, and having a heart that will say to him, "Why am I sitting here in the werf? Why am I not out hunting?"

The passage from childhood to adulthood is marked for a !Kung girl by a ceremony at her first menstruation. The girl is isolated in a special scherm for the duration of the flow only. She must be covered by a kaross because the sun must not shine upon her, and her feet must not touch the ground. When she must go out to urinate or defecate, she is carried on the back of the old woman (not her mother) who attends her. It is not the menstrual blood but the girl herself who must be kept from touching the ground. She would get thin if she disregarded this taboo. Men and boys must not look at the girl and she must not look at them lest the men become highly visible to animals and unable to get near enough to them to shoot.

Every day that the girl is in the menstruation scherm, the women who are present and one or two old men dance a special dance called the Eland Dance and sing a special cycle of First Menstruation music. The Eland Dance is full of sex symbolism. The two old men should be free from even the most attenuated, symbolic extension of the incest taboo with respect to the girl, and it follows that they should have what is called the joking relationship with her. The usual strict modesty of the women is set aside. They take off their karosses (leaving their aprons on, however) and hang strings of beads from their waists down over their bare buttocks. The old men, with forked sticks tied to their heads to represent eland horns, imitate the gait and carriage of elands, and dance among the women with subtly erotic gestures. The other men and boys of the werf must stay at a distance.

When the girl stops menstruating she is washed, rubbed with *tsi* and fat, and her face is painted with red lines. She then may go among the people again, but the first time she takes water from the water hole and the first time she cooks and eats veldkos, the water and veldkos must be

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(the same word as the title of respect). The !Kung say it is strong medicine: /*num*. The !Kung take for granted his giving to man both sickness and the power to cure it, and account for the power's sometimes failing to cure by saying that the all-powerful god allows it to work, or not, according to his pleasure.

He gives the curing power to medicine men (called *num kxao*, medicine owners), appearing to them (usually in dreams, sometimes in what seem to be waking hallucinations) and putting the power into them. He has also put a curing power in the medicine songs that the people sing at the dances, songs named Rain, Sun, Giraffe, Eland, Honey, Buffalo, Mamba, and Spider —all powerful things. The great god gives the power freely. It is rare to find a man among the !Kung who is not a medicine man. The function of the medicine men is only to cure. They are not sorcerers or witch doctors. (The !Kung are not a witch-ridden people.) !Kung medicine men receive no rewards or special prerogatives. They work together apparently without rivalry. The medicine men may cure at any time but their strongest curing occurs at the dance.

Whether or not anyone is sick, the people dance two or three times a month, sometimes more often. Anyone who wants a dance may start one simply by asking people to come and begin. The !Kung like to dance for many reasons. There is the inherent physical pleasure in moving to rhythm. Music and dancing are their arts, from which their aesthetic pleasure comes. The dances are also social gatherings in which all participate, men, women, children, visitors—everybody. A dance draws them together as nothing else does. Even more important is the fact that the dance is one concerted religious act of the !Kung and brings people into such unison that they become like an organic being.

At the dances not only may the sick be cured, but pending evil and misfortune averted. The !Kung believe that the great god may send *//Gauwa* or the *//gauwasi* at any time with ill for someone and that these beings may be lurking, awaiting their chance to inflict it. The medicine men in the dances combat them, drive them away, and protect the people.

Usually there are several medicine men performing at the same time. To cure they go into trance, which varies in depth as the ceremony proceeds. The curing cannot be described in words; it must be heard. When a man begins, he leaves the line of dancing men and, still singing, leans over the person he is going to cure, going eventually to every person present, even the infants. He places one hand on the person's chest, one on his or her back, and flutters his hands. The !Kung believe that in this way he draws the sickness, real or potential, out of the person through his own arms into himself. To demonstrate that this is in fact going on and is hard to do, he grunts with shuddering grunts that intensify in tempo and pitch into shrieks and reach a high piercing, quavering yell. Finally, the medicine man throws up his arms

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The Ceremonial Curing Dance A medicine man is going into a trance.

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to cast the sickness out, hurling it into the darkness back to */Gauwa* or the */gauwasi*, who are there beyond the firelight, with a sharp, yelping cry of "*kai kai kai.*"

The medicine men are usually only in shallow trance at this point, but, when the curing has been going on for some time, they begin to reach a state of patterned frenzy. They no longer go around to the people, their spasms of grunting and shrieking become more frequent and violent, their stomachs heave, they stagger and sway. They rush to the fire, trample it, pick up the coals, set fire to their hair. They believe that fire activates the medicine in them. People hold them to keep them from falling and beat out the flames. The medicine men rush out into the darkness, where */Gauwa* and the */gauwasi* are lurking. They hurl burning sticks and swear at them. "Filthy face!" they screech. "Take away the sickness you have brought. You are bad. You want to kill us. Go away. . . . *Hishe*, you are a liar. This man will not die." At this point the medicine man may fall down in deep trance and appear to be unconscious or semiconscious, with eyes closed, stiff as a board, unable to walk. This stage of trance may last only a brief time or may continue for hours—even into the next day. Gradually it is resolved and the medicine man takes up his normal activities.

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The !Kung believe that at the time of deep trance the medicine man's spirit leaves his body and goes out to meet */Gauwa* and the */gauwasi*. They call this "half death." It is a dangerous time. The women must continue to sing the medicine music. The man's body must be watched over, rubbed, and kept warm by other medicine men who are in less deep trance.

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The violence and excitement of the ceremony have the effect, as in a

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drama, of releasing the emotions of the people and purging them, in the Aristotelian sense. Fear and hostility find an outlet and the people have acted together to protect themselves. In this there are support and solace and hope.

CHANGE

Today (1962) the pattern of life for the Nyae Nyae !Kung has begun to change radically. Many Bushmen of other language groups have had prolonged contact with the Bantu peoples among whom they live, and some have worked on Europeans' farms. Systematic studies of their social changes are lacking. The Nyae Nyae !Kung, as described here, had contact with Herero and Tswana neighbors in trade, but this contact did not appear to change the social structure of the independent !Kung. They are only now beginning to feel the impact of European contact. They were remote; they are no longer so. When, in 1951, we first worked our way to their area from the outposts of the farm lands, we were eight arduous days en route, in trackless, waterless country of bush and heavy sand, our four trucks heavy with water and petrol, equipment and supplies. Today a well-cleared track gives access in a day. Farmers began to come into the area to get the Bushmen to work for them and have their eyes upon the land.

The government of South West Africa, realizing the problem of the Bushmen, has appointed one of their most competent administrators of native affairs to be Bushman Affairs Commissioner, and is supplying him with funds and equipment. He and his wife are in the Nyae Nyae area and are working with several families of !Kung. He is leading one group of them into agriculture and this year they harvested a crop of corn. Others of the men are employed in road building and are being paid a cash wage, currently a shilling a day. It is too early to say what will happen to their social forms in so radical a change, which ones they will lose entirely, which they will retain and adapt to new conditions. All we know is that the !Kung who are taking part in the experiment have expressed themselves as willing and anxious to try to develop a new way of life.

NOTES

(1) Some of the ethnographic material used here has been previously published in my articles in *Africa* which are cited in the bibliography appended to this chapter. The ethnographic material is used with the permission of the International African Institute and the editor of *Africa*.

(2) Skeletal remains of Bushmen are found associated with late stone age implements in South Africa, but not with early or middle stone age (Schapera

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exchanged from hut to hut, the women going to one hut, the men to another, and so on. Only the owners sit in a hut, while the visitors gather round the fire outside. The little children play about everywhere, the bigger boys and girls by themselves. There is no fixed time for going to sleep. As a rule the people turn in to bed fairly early, but if it is a fine evening dancing may be started and kept up till late, everybody taking part except the old people and the little children.[1]

Food and Fire

The Bushmen will eat almost anything that can be eaten. Of animal foods the favourite is game of all kinds, when it can be obtained, and they are also very fond of hare, spring hare, guinea fowl, korhaan, partridge, ostrich, and other birds, as well as birds' eggs. Fish too are eaten wherever they can be caught, and among the Bushmen of the Okavango swamps are a staple article of diet. Anteaters, ant bears, tortoises, porcupines, bull frogs, snakes, and lizards are greatly relished, while among insects locusts, scorpions, beetles, young bees and honey, termites, flying ants and ants' eggs are also eaten. In fact all kinds of living animals are made use of as food, with the almost universal exception of the baboon and the hyena—the former "on account of its being so like a man", the latter "because it eats human corpses".

The most important vegetable foods in the Southern and Central Kalahari are the *tsama* (*Citrullus vulgaris*), "uintjies" (*Cyperus edulis Dtr.*), *Grewia* berries, and the *//noun* (*Bauhinea esculenta*); in the Namib the */naras* fruit (*Acanthosicyos horrida Welw.*) forms almost the sole article of diet when in season; while as one proceeds northwards various fruit-bearing trees appear, such as the wild fig, palm, omungete nut, wild orange, omuande, and omuve. In addition numerous other varieties of edible roots, berries, cucumbers, tubers, melons, and ground nuts appear in great profusion during and after the rainy season, when they form the principal part of the daily menu.[2]

Much of the food is eaten raw, but the Bushmen know how to prepare and cook it. Each family prepares its own food. Cooking

[1] Passarge, op. cit., 44 sqq.; D. F. Bleek, *The Naron*, 32; Fourie, "The Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 88.

[2] Stow, *Native Races of S. Africa*, 54 sqq.; von François, *Nama und Damara*, 234–5; Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, 659 sqq.; Passarge, op. cit., 44 sqq.; Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 139–40, 144 sqq.; Werner, "Ueber die Heikum- und Kungbuschleute," 253–5; Dornan, *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 114 sqq.; D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 6–7; Fourie, op. cit., 98 sq.

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again; being, on the first occasion, allowed to look afar over her mother's hand. She leaves the small hut, when allowed to look about and around again; and she then walks about like the other women. During the time she is in retreat, she must not look at the springbok, lest they become wild."[1] She was not allowed to eat game killed by the young men, but only that which her father had shot; and, above all, she was not to look upon or be approached by men lest harm come to both them and herself. There are several legends describing how men who were looked upon by a girl at this time became fixed in whatever position they then occupied, or even became transformed into stones, or stars in the sky, or trees which talked; while girls who were disobedient became converted into frogs or were carried off to death by the rain.[2]

Further north, in some of the North-Western tribes (Naron, Auen, Kung), the central feature of the girls' puberty ceremony is the eland bull dance, which is held in the girl's honour.[3] As soon as she has her first period, neighbours and friends assemble to a big feast given by her parents. By day she is kept in a special hut, tended by women only, and no man may come near her; while every night until her period has passed the eland bull dance is performed. All the men and boys leave the camp, save two old men, who tie elands' horns or wooden imitations thereof to their heads, and wait in the bushes. The older women stand in a line, singing and clapping their hands. The girl is brought from her hut, and sits or lies on the ground by them. The younger women then circle round before them, or make a figure of eight. They dance with their arms outstretched before them, and have a peculiar slow, swaying step. As they dance they lift their karosses and aprons to one side, and expose their buttocks, which they waggle from side to side. Then the two "bulls" stamp up, holding their karosses pulled well down over their shoulders, and presenting a hunched-up appearance. They join the line of dancers, sometimes leading it, sometimes in the middle of it, and dance with a slow, jogging step. The song accompanying their movements is full and low in tune, but without words. The motif of this dance clearly is the courtship of the eland bull, and although as seen by Passarge and Miss Bleek it was kept within bounds, they say that it can easily become indecent.

[1] Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 76–7.
[2] Bleek, *Bushman Texts*, 10, 14, 18; Lloyd, *Further Bushman Material Collected*, 10.
[3] Passarge, *Die Buschmänner*, 101–3; Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 157–8; D. F. Bleek, *The Naron*, 23.

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881 The */nu //en* hold a similar dance on this occasion, a man with a
535 bird's beak on his head taking the place of the "eland bull".[1]

The corresponding ceremony among the Heikum is a much more elaborate affair.[2] As young girls (*/kham-khoidi*) approach the age of puberty, they are placed in a special hut (*/kham-khoidi oms*), in which they sleep at night. During the day time they gather veldkos either by themselves or in company with the married women, who also visit the hut and instruct them in the various matters pertaining to domestic life, teach them how to prepare the food, to gather wood, to make the fire, and so on. Men may not enter the hut, nor may the girls speak to or be addressed by any man, whether married or single.

At the onset of her first menstruation, a girl is isolated in a small round hut (*/hawa omi*, hut for waiting), which is completely closed in except for a small entrance, and is situated close to the */kham-khoidi oms*. In this hut she remains as long as the flow lasts; she may not show herself outside, and above all no man may pass close to the hut or attempt to address her. She is fed by her mother, or, in the absence of the latter, by another married woman, and is not visited by anybody except the person who feeds her. She may be given veldkos, but is not allowed to partake of meat. Every day, too, her hair is smeared by the attendant woman with a mixture of red bark powder and powdered seed.

When the flow has ceased the girl informs her mother or attendant.
535 The latter tells the other married women, and they all prepare for the
881 */hawa-/nab* (menstruation dance). This takes place during the day on the central space of the camp. Men may not take part in it, nor even watch it. The girl is led out of her hut by two of the women, who cover her whole head and face with a duiker skin kaross, leaving only the eyes visible. Each of the women takes her by the arm, and they join the line of dancers. The women dance abreast of each other, the feet thrown out sideways, with an old woman leading. What their movements are intended to represent we are not told. When the dance is about to end, the girl is taken back to her hut by the two women who had led her out.

The same performance is repeated for three or four days in succession. On the last day, after the dancing has ceased, the girl is presented with various trinkets by the women who took part in
88 | the ceremony. Then, after she has been returned to her hut, the

[1] D. F. Bleek, loc. cit.
[2] Fourie, "Customs of the Hei-//om," 17–91; Ideen, "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 89–91.

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they may have no fire, and eat no meat, but live only on a little water and on raw roots and berries, which are sprinkled by the magicians with powdered bark "medicine". The greater part of this early period is spent in the performance of sacred dances (*/gi*, men's dance), which are held all through the day and often continued at night.

These dances among the Naron and Auen are described as follows by Miss Bleek: "All gather in a circle, clap their hands, and sing a weird, solemn tune with the refrain 'honk a honk'. Then they stamp round in a circle waving their arms to another phase of the melody (no words are used); then they stand still and sing the first part again and so on." At this dance the boys often wear ostrich feathers, or the head and beak of the white stork, as head ornaments; otherwise there is no special costume. Anyone owning dancing rattles also wears them, as at the ordinary dances.

On one of the nights of this dance, "a supernatural being called Hishe approaches the dancers, circles round them, and is driven away by the medicine men. The older men had seen this being. One said that it was like a woman in appearance, another that it was not a person at all, but a creature about three feet high with a flat head, red eyes underneath the head, a black body, wings, and claws. Some old Auen said two beings came, male and female, looking like lions, but walking upright. They were followed by children like baboons. The male came first and called the others, they danced round and vanished to the east. Apparently medicine men of different times and places got up different bogies. Latterly their invention seems to have failed, for the middle-aged men told me Hishe came to the dance, but only the medicine men saw her and drove her away." Similarly, among the !O Kung of Angola, "the spirit Huwe occasionally appears and dances with them, sometimes as a youth, sometimes in double form as man and woman. Huwe then retires without any particular demonstration."

As will be shown subsequently, Hishe and Huwe are beings who figure prominently in the religious beliefs of the Naron and Kung respectively. There can be little doubt, therefore, inadequate though our information is on this point, that these ceremonies serve in some way to introduce the initiates to the mysteries of tribal religion.

More light is thrown on the routine of these ceremonies by Fourie's description of them as practised among the Auen.[1] "On the first day they are given neither food nor water, but are subjected to the

[1] Loc. cit.

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881 smoke of the 'devil's' fire (*//gâũa-da*) and are required to partake of the 'devil's' urine (*//gâũa-/kam*). The proceedings of the second day begin with dancing before daybreak. After sunrise and at sunset they are given a small quantity of *//nôun* (one of the staple vegetable foods of the Kalahari Bushmen) to eat and a little water to drink. During the day their bodies are blackened from head to foot with powdered roasted *//nôun*. After partaking of the evening meal they retire to rest without dancing. On the morning of the third day they start dancing at sunrise and dance without interruption and without food or water all day long until sunset, when they go to sleep. On the following morning before sunrise, their hands are washed with water by the elders and they are given a little *//noun* to eat. Thereafter they are taken to a pan of water and required to walk through it. The rest of the day is spent in collecting veldkos. In the evening they are introduced to the 'Devil' and partake of honey brought by the latter. On the fifth day their bodies are cleansed with chewed roasted *//nôun*, and they are permitted to move about the camp and partake of food. They may, however, not speak to young unmarried women. As they retire to rest at night their bows and arrows are handed to them by the elders. From now onwards, each lad is taken separately and required to prove his skill in stalking and killing game with bow and arrow. Each one who [304] passes through the test in a satisfactory manner is tattooed with meat taken from the animals shot by him and then permitted to return to the werft."

The introduction to the "Devil" mentioned in this account [535] obviously refers to the dance in which Hishe or Huwe, as the case may be, appears before the boys. The hunting test almost certainly forms an essential part of the ceremony in the other tribes as well, judging from a curt remark by Miss Bleek in another context that the boys' initiation rites "certainly have much to do with hunting",[1] but there is no concrete information on this point. The "tattooing", 881 304 or rather cicatrization, referred to by Fourie is confirmed by all the other writers on the puberty ceremonies of the North-Western Bushmen. Among the Kung the boys receive these cuts (*/gi* cuts) between the eyebrows, and, among the Naron and Auen, also on the back between the shoulder blades. They consist of from one to three vertical incisions, about half an inch to an inch long, and are made by the magicians in charge of the ceremonies. Among the Naron

[1] "Bushmen of Central Angola," 123.

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at Sandfontein powdered acid roots are rubbed into the wounds to keep them from closing as they heal, but no colouring matter is applied; further east, however, according to Passarge, wood ash is rubbed in to make the wounds black. All men in the North-Western tribes have these cuts (see Frontispiece), which are supposed to make them "see well", i.e. to bring them good luck in hunting. After this operation the boys are permitted to return to the camp. They are now regarded as men, they can marry, and they take part in the councils of the men and associate with them.

The rites described above appear to exist only in the North-Western tribes. There is no definite record of any puberty ceremonies for boys among the Southern Bushmen, and according to Miss Bleek the */nu//en*, one of the tribes falling in this division, distinctly denied that such ceremonies were held by them,[1] while in the same way their existence among the Namib Bushmen is emphatically denied by Trenk.[2]

It should be mentioned here, however, that from information obtained by Orpen from a member of the now extinct tribe of Basuto-land Bushmen it appears that there were certain dances connected with religious beliefs, the secrets of which were known only to the men initiated into them.[3] Campbell also records a dance of these Bushmen as described to him by an informant: "When the Bushmen dance, Ko (a deity) sometimes comes and informs them where game is to be procured; and when any animals are killed, certain parts of them may only be eaten by particular persons. She is a large, white figure, and sheds such a brightness around, that they can hardly see the fire for it; all see and hear her as she dances with them . . . They cannot feel what she is, but should a man be permitted to touch her, which seldom happens, she breathes hard upon his arm, and this makes him shoot better . . . After Ko comes up from the ground and dances a short time with them, she disappears, and is succeeded by her nymphs, who likewise dance a while with them."[4] The description of this dance at once reminds one of the puberty dances for boys among the North-Western Bushmen, where Huwe or Hishe also comes and dances with them, and there is the same suggestion that the ceremony is in some way connected with hunting; but there is nothing definite either in Campbell's account or in Orpen's to indicate that the dances referred to by them were in any way connected with puberty ceremonies for boys.

[1] *Comparative Vocabularies of Bushman Languages*, 10.
[2] "Buschleute der Namib," 169.
[3] "Mythology of the Maluti Bushmen," *Folk-Lore*, xxx, 142.
[4] Campbell, *Second Journey into South Africa*, ii, 31–2.

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764 is a deep hole, narrowing towards the top; its bottom is covered with small bushes, the corpse, wrapped up in its kaross, is laid upon these, then covered over with bushes, upon which finally small white stones are heaped till ground-level is reached. The surface of the [825] grave, like the corpse itself, is sprinkled with water mixed with vegetable "medicine"; this, says Seydel, is intended to keep jackals [766] and hyenas from the grave. Children are buried in the same manner, but the ceremony is simpler, only the nearest relatives accompanying the corpse to the grave.[1] Trenk gives some additional details. [775] The thickened sap of a certain small bush (*dawes*) is placed in the hands of the dead person, so that "his soul, when it reaches the 'evil spirit', may not do harm to other people, and will find rich ● [535] food in its other existence". At the funeral a fire is lit at the grave, round which is then held a dance accompanied by a funeral song; 765 and all the women must weep for a day. A funeral feast follows, [273] in which honey beer plays no small part. A widow as a sign of mourning cuts a round spot out of the hair over her forehead, a widower a parting directly over the middle of the head. How long the mourning lasts is not clearly stated, but, as we have already noted, a full season must elapse before the surviving partner may remarry.[2]

764 Among the Naron, as soon as a person has died those present [763] raise a short, very distinct cry which lets the whole camp know of the death. The body, wrapped up in the kaross worn by the dead person in life, is brought into a contracted position, the knees being bent up against the chest, the arms crossed and the hands laid on the shoulders, and is tied up like this with rope for purposes of transport. It is then laid near the fire, while the women howl and weep over it. Burial takes place as soon as possible after death. If this occurs at night, then on the following day; if in the morning, then on the same day. The grave is a deep, round hole, dug with the hands and digging-stick at a spot where the soil is not hard. Two or three men carry the body there, a man jumps in, receives it as it is lowered down by the ropes, and places it lying on the left side facing the east. Why this position is customary they do not know. The dead are buried in all their clothes and ornaments, and all their possessions are placed in the grave, or if too long, as in the case of a bow or spear, are hung on a bush close by. Then the grave is filled, and bushes or stones are thrown on top to keep the animals off. All the village [765] is present, and the women weep. Next day a near relative burns

[1] "Aus der Namib," 504. [2] "Buschleute der Namib," 169.

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[821] [773] and left them lying alone, whereupon they ascended to the sky. This story, adds Lebzelter, is not believed in at all by the people, who told it to him with great laughter.[1]

[782] [535] Other prayers to the New Moon are found, however, among the !O Kung in Angola. Miss Bleek describes a dance seen by her, in which the women and girls stood in a group on one side singing and clapping their hands, while the men, singing also but not clapping, were in an irregular group on the other side, wriggling their whole bodies but otherwise hardly moving. The song accompanying this dance was a repetition of the words :—

[539]

//nwa-se //kolama //gu a i-i,	New Moon, come out, give water to us,
//nwa-se tatana //gu a i-i,	New Moon, thunder down water for us,
//nwa-se tala u //gu a i-i,	New Moon, shake down water for us.

Here also, as among the Naron and Auen, the Moon is therefore looked upon as the raingiver, and is prayed to as such—and rain, it must be remembered, makes the plants grow which feed the buck, hence it provides both vegetable and animal food. The New Moon is said to be either a child or a man, while the Full Moon is a woman. This distinction Miss Bleek interprets in the light of the difference in form presented by these two aspects of the Moon. In Naron and [193] [196] Nama the masculine and feminine endings are given to the same roots to denote respectively strong, tall, slender things and weak, short, round things. So here the New Moon may be called a man, because of its slenderness, the Full Moon a woman because of its round shape. The Moon is also held to be the elder sister, the sun the younger; but apparently there are no special practices or beliefs regarding the latter, although one of Miss Bleek's informants said: [782] "We sing to the Sun and the Stars as well as the Moon." No prayers to the former are recorded, however.[2]

The only other Bushmen of whose ideas relating to the heavenly bodies we have information are the Hiechware. Dornan states that [184] he was unable to discover among them any special ceremonies connected with the sun and the moon, but that they certainly do reverence these bodies, although seeming to dread them more than anything else. They think they must keep on good terms with the sun and the moon if they are to be successful in hunting or anything [782] else they undertake. He could not, however, discover any prayers

[1] Religiösen Vorstellungen der *//Khun*-Buschmänner," 401; *idem*, "Bei den !Kuñ Buschleuten" 13.

[2] "Buschmänner von Angola," 53; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 119–20, 122, 124.

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782 821 [539]

O gallopers,
O gallopers,
Do ye not know me?
Ye do not seem to know my hut.

Then they speak to the Rain itself:—

Thou shouldst put thy tail between thy legs,
For the women are looking shocked at thee;
Thou shouldst put thy tail between thy legs for the children.

The Rain seems here to be thought of as a magic animal ridden by spirits."

791 821 Certain magicians have power over the Rain, and can cause it to come or stay away, as they please. These powers remain with them even after death, and just as in life they are asked for rain, so when they are dead, they may also be entreated to send it. Other magicians have a similar power over the wind, */khwe*, and are protected by it. The howling of the wind is believed to forebode evil; it tells the beasts of prey where to find people, and when it blows strongly they can approach the huts unheard. In the mythology the wind [773] is represented as having formerly been a man, which now wears the form of a bird.[1]

773 776 [184] [794] Among the Bushmen of Basutoland and the Orange Free State we meet again with tales about the Mantis, differing but slightly from those of the Cape. He seems, however, to have been here the object of a definite cult as well. According to Arbousset, it was believed that *'Kaang* (i.e. */kaggen*) or, as he was also termed, *'Kue-'akeng-'teng*, " the man (master) of all things," causes life and death and gives [761] [821] or refuses rain. All the animals have special marks which he has put [825] upon them; deficiency of game is attributed to him, and he is invoked for success in the chase. He is also worshipped in times of famine 796 and before going to war, when the *mo'koma* or " dance of blood " 535 is performed all through the night. This dance Orpen's informant, [773] Qing, described as follows: " *Cagn* (i.e. */kaggen*)[2] gave us the song of this dance, and told us to dance it, and people would die from it, and he would give charms to raise them again. It is a circular dance of men and women, following each other, and it is danced all night. [786] Some fall down, some become as if mad and sick, blood runs from the noses of others whose charms are weak, and they eat charm medicine, in which is burnt snake powder.

[1] Bleek, *Bushman Texts*, 17; Lloyd, *Bushman Material Collected*, 9, 20–1; Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 195–9, 393–7 *et passim*; D. F. Bleek, *Bushman Folklore*, 307–9.

[104] [2] In some orthographies, especially that used for the Zulu-Xosa languages, the symbol c represents the dental click, written / in the standard orthography for Bushman and Hottentot languages. *Cagn* is therefore merely another way of writing */kaggen*; both represent the same sounds.

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medicine, in which is burnt snake powder. When a man is sick, this dance is danced round him, and the dancers put both hands under their arm-pits, and press their hands upon him, and when he coughs the initiated put out their hands and receive what has injured him—secret things. The initiated who know secret things are Qogne; the sick person is hang cāi."

Cagn, said Qing, was the first being and made all things—the sky, the moon, stars, mountains, and animals. The Bushmen prayed to him. On being asked how, Qing answered, in a low, imploring tone: "O Cagn! O Cagn! are we not your children, do you not see our hunger? give us food"—"and he gives us both hands full." To the further question, where *Cagn* was, he responded, "We don't know, but the elands do. Have you not hunted and heard his cry, when the elands suddenly start and run to his call? Where he is, the elands are in droves like cattle."

Cagn's wife was *Coti*. When asked where she came from, Qing said, "I don't know, perhaps with those who brought the Sun; but you are now asking the secrets that are not spoken of." These secrets he himself did not know—"only the initiated men of that dance know these things." *Cagn* also had two sons, *Cogaq* and *Gcwi*, and together with him and *Cogaq* there was another great "chief", *Qwangciqutshaa*. All three had great power, but it was *Cagn* who gave orders through the other two. Of all these personages various tales were related by Qing. One of them, describing how *Cogaq* was killed by baboons and restored to life again by *Cagn*, is almost identical with the similar story told by the Cape Bushmen of */kaggen* and */gaunu-ts'axau*. In all these tales *Cagn* appears as a human being, but with supernatural powers. He can change himself into different forms, is then sometimes killed and eaten by animals or people, but always comes to life again. He possesses various magical charms, the strongest of which is his tooth; and the birds are his messengers who report to him what is going on. Occasionally he gets into trouble, from which he is extricated by *Cogaq*, just as in the Cape Bushman stories */kaggen* is aided by */ni*.

Another name for the Mantis among these Bushmen, according to Arbousset, is *'ngo*. This may explain the following quotation from Campbell: "They had a name which they gave to God, who is above them, and another to God who is under them. The former is a male, the latter a female. The male God they call Goba, the female Ko; and her attendants are called Gauna." *Ko* (*'ngo*), as

[1] [see category 116, p. 182 for the author's explanation of the 'initiated.' — Analyst]

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Chapter VIII

ART AND KNOWLEDGE

Dancing and Music

535 Dances and games of various kinds enter very largely into the lives of the Bushmen. Of these the dance takes the first place among their social recreations. Some dances are definitely of a ritual character, being held only on ceremonial occasions, e.g. the eland bull dance at a girl's puberty ceremony, the */gi* dance at the boys' puberty ceremony, and the *mo'koma* or "dance of blood" among the Bushmen of Basutoland. On the other hand, dancing is often indulged in purely for pleasure, especially in times of plenty, and may take place any fine moonlit night, when the people have had a good meal, and there are enough of them to make it festive. "The girls begin clapping their hands and singing, standing near the huts. Soon a couple of youths turn up and start dancing round in front of them. Then more join, older men and women take part, till the whole crowd, save a few grandfathers, are singing and dancing."[1] On these occasions the young women and girls frequently stripe their faces with black and red paint, occasionally the young men do so too, and most of the dancers tie round their legs strings of dry cocoons which give out a peculiar rattling sound. They may dance half the night through or even go right on till morning.

[887] [302] [534]

The dances are on the whole fairly simple in character and are all of more or less the same nature (Plate XII).[2] The dancers, generally men only, go round and round in a circle in single file, stamping rather than dancing in time with the tune; the women form the band and stand at one side, clapping their hands and singing, while the men who are dancing also sing. "In some dances a woman occasionally leaves the line of singers and dances round beside some man, who pays her attention in gesture, either holding a reed over her

[1] D. F. Bleek, *The Naron*, 22.

[2] Stow, *Native Races*, 111–24; Werner, "Ueber die Heikum- und Kungbuschleute," 249–53; Passarge, *Buschmänner*, 103–5; Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 150–1; D. F. Bleek, loc. cit.; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 95–7; Gentz, "Die südwestafrikanischen Völkerschaften," 156–7.

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PLATE XII

535

L. Fourie

BUSHMEN DANCING
Notice the circling movement, and the chorus of women at the side

[face p. 203]

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shoulders, or holding his arms out behind her, without touching her. 535
In other dances the men dance round alone, then approach the line of singers, holding out their arms. The courting motive is clear, 535
though not indecently expressed."[1] Stow, however, describes 831
certain dances of the Southern Bushmen which he stigmatizes as lascivious and orgiastic, and in which, he says, "the women appear to have offered themselves up to sexual congress."[2] There are several suggestions also that the eland bull dance, as well as various others [114]
imitating the sexual life of animals, may assume a pronouncedly erotic character, but these suggestions are conveyed as a rule by our authorities in the form of generalized statements obviously based on hearsay, and lack concrete illustration.

Most of the dances appear to be based on episodes in the lives of 535
wild animals; the dancers imitate the animals, and go through the 825
actions characteristic of them. Several of these dances, observed by Fourie among the Heikum, may serve to illustrate their general character. In the Jackal and Wolf dance, in which only the men take part, a hyena is represented feeding on a carcase and keeping off a couple of hungry jackals. Every now and again, as the latter attempt to approach too close to the carcass, the hyena scares them off and they jump out of the way. The Horse dance is likewise danced by men only, who go round quickly in a circle, while the women clap their hands in imitation of the sound made by a galloping horse. The Gemsbok dance, again, represents a gemsbok bull, cow, and calf being chased by two men with three or four dogs. The bull and cow carry horns but the calf does not. The buck lead and are followed by the men and dogs, who dance to and fro on the flanks until the animals are brought to bay. Then the men pretend to shoot, bows and arrows being represented by sticks, and one of the buck goes down wounded, while the others make off pursued by some of the dogs. The wounded animal fights in realistic fashion, sweeping at both men and dogs with its horns. The dance is continued until all the animals have been accounted for.[3]

Among the Southern Bushmen the dancers often made themselves up to represent various animals, birds, and imaginary monsters, with the aid of either paint or the skins, heads, and horns of the objects to be represented. In many of their dances "they were so dressed as to represent a particular animal, when the dance was called by its name; such was the *t'Gorlo'ka*, the *Man-nia*, or Baboon dance, in

[1] D. F. Bleek, loc. cit. [2] Stow, op. cit., 115, 118–19. [3] Op. cit., 96.

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535 825 which the performers imitated all the actions and droll grimaces of rival baboons, springing, gambolling, and running upon all fours, chattering and grimacing like a troop of excited simiadae. Another, and one which also appeared a favourite amongst them, was the *'Kloo-rou-o*, or Frog dance, in which they squatted, and leaped, and rolled about like a lot of inebriated batrachians. A third of this kind was the *t'Oi*, or Bee dance, when the company transformed themselves into a swarm of bees, and performed their evolutions with a buzzing chorus. "On special occasions," Stow continues, "they held a general masquerade, when each one took the disguise or head-dress of some particular bird or animal, and upheld the character during the performance. This appears to have been considered one of their grand national dances, and was reserved for their high festivals; it was one which even their greatest artists delighted to depict, and probably it had some hidden meaning known to the initiated."[1] It is not unlikely, as Stow suggests, that such dances were also of a ritual character, but of their function and relation to the social life generally hardly anything is known.

526 535 Games are often played in the evenings too, by grown-up people of both sexes as well as by children.[2] A favourite game of the women, found among the Southern Bushmen, as well as in the north, is a ball game which is almost a dance. The players stand in a line [533] clapping their hands and singing a wordless tune. One of them dances about opposite the others with a melon or round tuber in her hand. At the end of the tune she throws the ball to the player at the right hand of the line, who dances out to catch it, and herself dances back to the left end, where she joins in the singing and clapping. The next player does the same, and so the game goes on till all have had several turns. Sometimes, again, they play at the capture of 524 brides by young men, as among the Naron, or at games based on 536 animal experiences, as among the Heikum. One of the latter, for instance, represents how a white monkey was once seen by a woman who ran home and told the others. "The part of the monkey is taken by a woman who stands with her hands covering the sides of her face, leaving only a small opening for peeping through. She sways her head from side to side. The other women form up in a row opposite to her. One goes forward to look at the monkey, gazes at it intently and, when the latter starts moving its head from side to

[1] Op. cit., 117–18.
[2] Stow, op. cit., 97–102; Kaufmann, op. cit., 149–50; D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 18–21; Fourie op. cit., 97–8.

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524 and pretend to dip it out. The 'snake' from time to time flicks
857 sand at them with his finger, he is supposed to be squirting water. The others start back and scream, then gather once more round the 'pool'. At last the 'snake' jumps up, seizes a victim and pretends to swallow it, which ends the game."[1]

533 Some of the children's games, as in the one just described, have songs or refrains attached to them, in which the words are occasionally
[535] obsolete. All the dances are also accompanied by singing, many of them having their own special tune, but here the tunes are often sung without words. Other songs, again, go with the playing of musical instruments. The tunes are as a rule very short, and are generally repeated over and over again without variation, so that the effect is rather monotonous. "All Bushmen sing," says Miss Bleek,[2] "but their tunes are not easy for a European to distinguish, much less to write down." And, referring to the dance tunes,
[535] she adds: "The time is perfect, but no two in a chorus seem to hit the same note, though the general burden of the tune is kept up. That is to say, they all go up together, but not from or to the same note, and they all go down together, each hitting any note they please."

534 Musical instruments are seldom used to accompany the dances, although several different kinds are found.[3] Many of them are variations of the musical bow. The best known of these, the */goura*, was the favourite instrument in the south. It consists in an ordinary bow, in which one end of the string, instead of being fastened to the stave itself, is attached to a flexible piece of quill spliced to the end of the stave. This quill is held against the lips, and made to vibrate by strong expirations and inspirations of the breath, thus producing the effect of a stringed wind instrument. Another form of the musical bow, commonly known as the */gubo*, has a gourd or tortoise-shell attached to the stave of the bow so as to serve as a sounding-box. The instrument is played by picking at the string with a small piece of wood or bone. A development of this sometimes seen consists in playing it like a primitive sort of violin, with a small bow for sounding the string. This mode of playing was probably adopted
[177] from a European source, as the use of a bow after the manner of a

[1] D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 19. [2] Op. cit., 22.
[3] Stow, op. cit., 102–11; Passarge, op. cit., 95–8; Gretschel, "Die Buschmannsammlung Hannemann," 111–12; Kaufmann, op. cit., 150–1; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 21–2; Balfour, "The Goura—A Stringed Wind Musical Instrument of the Bushmen and Hottentots," *J.R. Anthrop. Inst.*, xxxii (1902), 156–76.